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A HISTORY

OF THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

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CHARLES C. TIFFANY, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF NEW YORK

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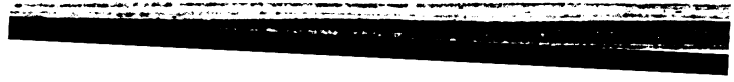

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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CHARLES C. TIFFANY, D. D.
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VOLUME VII

Copyright, 1895,
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'HE Protestant Episcopal Church is the
timate descendant of the Church of En
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t is received and embodied in the Establish
Great Britain. In doctrine, discipline, and
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church came from abroad. Its structural fe
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of those special features which distinguish it from other ecclesiastical bodies. They aver that it reflects in its constitution more exactly than any other religious corporation the fundamental principles which rule in our national government, and that it secures and expresses in things religious more completely than can be found elsewhere the essential spirit of our national life, "liberty protected by law." "As a nation," says Mr. George William Curtis, in his oration on Mr. Lowell, "we did not invent the great muniments of liberty: trial by jury, the habeas corpus, constitutional restraint, the common school, of all which we were the common heirs with civilized Christendom." So the Episcopal Church did not create episcopacy, nor extemporize a liturgy, nor invent a creed. To apply to the church what Mr. Curtis again says of the state, "the higher spirit of conservatism was its own, and it cherished a reverence for antiquity, a susceptibility to the value of tradition, an instinct for continuity and development, an antipathy to violent rupture—the grace and charm and value of an established order."

Like the American people, who honor their institutions as the heritage of law and culture and liberty out of past ages, so the Episcopal Church prizes its peculiar and dominant features as the issue of a sound historic growth. It claims to preserve, and to have had preserved to it, the essential features of the church of apostolic times in continuous and legitimate succession. It grounds its dogmas on the original documents of the apostolic church contained in the New Testament, which is its final arbiter in all doctrinal statements. It holds its order of worship to be, in its structural features, identical with the liturgies of the earliest and best ages. Yet, while holding firmly to the past as the vindication of its foundation principles, its aim is, not to present or represent an anachronism or to recon-

eissue transient features and forms of life which
s let die, but to vindicate and apply to the latest
atest nation the truths which have proved their
ality by their perennial influence. This church
ts future because it believes in its past, and out
faith comes the confidence of its present. It
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not as an enforced ecclesiastical establishment,
chosen religious home of willing souls, con-
e truths which it proclaims, and intent on the
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ibe the origin and trace the growth of this
e object of the present volume. In its com-
author has had the assistance of friends in the
n of material, which it is his pleasure, as it is
cordially acknowledge. His thanks are espe-
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the subject.

No one who attempts to write concerning the hi
of the Protestant Episcopal Church can fail to recor
sense of the obligation which all historical students
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and many valuable essays on special points of hi
collected in the two large volumes of his "History
American Episcopal Church, 1587–1883," and in th
huge volumes of the Facsimiles of Manuscripts, wh
almost all valuable documents of the church's history
a place; and for his condensed records of the procee
of the General Conventions, to be found in his "I
book of the General Conventions, 1785–1874," and f

Church in Virginia and Maryland. Nor can one fail to recognize what flashes of light are thrown on certain phases of this church's history by the broad and brilliant generalizations of the Rev. S. D. McConnell, D.D., in his "History of the American Episcopal Church," which is as full of wisdom as of wit. The "History of the American Church," by Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford and Winchester, is valuable in its account of the colonies, and is remarkable throughout as the production of one who never visited America. His unfamiliarity with our republican institutions, however, makes his account of the constitutional period of less value. Canon Anderson's "History of the Church of England in the Colonies," in three volumes, is more full and instructive than Wilberforce, and the "Digest of the Records of the Venerable S. P. G." is invaluable as a source of information concerning our colonial ecclesiastical history, while "The Colonial Era," by Professor G. P. Fisher, D.D., of Yale University, gives a clear and impartial view of the early political events which so vitally affected the life of the church.

For the post-colonial period and the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church" furnish a running comment on the constitutional movement by the chief actor in it, which is a treasure-house of information, indispensable to the understanding of the time; and the "Life of Bishop Seabury" gives much interesting matter supplementary to Bishop White's volume. For the subsequent history the "Journals" of the General and Diocesan Conventions, together with the many memoirs of the chief actors in it, are the principal sources of information.

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PERIOD I.

IE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE COLONIE
(1607–1785).

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST ATTEMPTS AT ENGLISH COLONIZATION.

To plant the Church of England in America formed, from the beginning, an essential part of England's colonial policy. The nation based its right to colonize the Western continent on the discoveries in North America of John and Sebastian Cabot, who sailed in 1497–98 under the patent of Henry VII., and skirted the North American coast from Newfoundland to the Chesapeake Bay. It was fully thirty years after these two voyages of the Cabots before America attracted much attention in England, and not until after the Reformation was established was any practical attempt at colonization made. From the very first movement, however, it was as much an object of England to establish Christianity, as she accepted and embodied it in a Reformed Church, as to augment her civil authority as a great Protestant nation.

It was fifty-five years after the discoveries of the Cabots that "the first reformed fleet which had English prayers and preaching therein" was dispatched by direction of Edward VI., under command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, to discover a northeastern passage to Cathay. It accom-

plished nothing, as the admiral and crew were all fr
to death while wintering in Russian Lapland. This
the only Western expedition of King Edward's r
During the reactionary rule of Queen Mary all such
terprise was suspended, and even Calais, the sole fo
possession of the English crown, was lost. It was du
the long reign of Elizabeth, the friend of the Reform
and determined enemy of Spain, that the first vigo
attempts were made to plant civilization and the Ch
of England in America. Under her sway expeditio
discovery and settlement were frequent. We need
dwell on the expedition of Frobisher along the shor
Hudson's Bay in 1578, nor on that of Drake to the P
coast in 1579, when he discovered the coast of Or
and made a landing in California.[1] It is true that in
these widely distant regions religious services, in the
of the Book of Common Prayer, were held by the En
chaplains of the fleets. These expeditions were not,
ever, the historic roots of the great aftergrowth of En
civil and religious life in the New World. They
transient in their effect, save as they contributed to
spirit of adventure which should come after and ach
permanent results.

The first charter granted for the establishment o
English colony on American shores was that which
Humphrey Gilbert received from Queen Elizabeth,

habiting and planting of our people in America." It was ordered that the laws and ordinances of the settlement "be, as near as conveniently may, agreeable to the laws and policy of England, and also that they be not against the true Christian Faith and Religion now professed in the Church of England." This expedition proved fruitless. A second voyage was undertaken in 1583, and this reached St. Johns, which was taken possession of; and here a few laws were promulgated for immediate observance, one of which provided that the religion of the colony "in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England." But Sir Humphrey, notwithstanding his colonial charter, was destined to make no permanent impression in the Western world. In attempting to explore the coast of the mainland to the southward he was obliged, by the loss of one of his ships, to turn his face toward England; and his own ship foundered in a storm. "He was last seen," says the affecting chronicle of the survivors, "sitting abaft with a book in his hands;" and his last words wafted to his companions were, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." So perished the devout and intrepid leader of the first chartered American colony.

The year following Sir Humphrey's death (1584) the queen granted a fresh patent to Walter Raleigh, half-brother to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and at that time her own favorite courtier. By this patent she vested in him and his heirs the powers and privileges which had been bestowed on Sir Humphrey. He at once sent out two barks, which reached the coast of North Carolina, and, after spending two months there, returned with two natives whom they had captured, and some general but not accurate information concerning the products of the soil. The account of this voyage made a deep and widespread impression. The queen named the country, of

self. She made Raleigh a knight, and he obtained
Parliament a bill confirming his patent. He at once
ceeded to forward the project of settling a colony i
newly discovered region. He gathered a squadr
seven vessels, put them in command of his cousi
Richard Grenville, and the expedition sailed from l
outh April 9, 1585, for Virginia, to found a settle
The colony included a hundred and eight souls,
whom Ralph Lane was appointed governor; but i
not a happily constituted company. It was not a
of families, but a gathering of individual adventurers
number of men of fortune and family went along, a
whom one is especially deserving of mention, viz., M
Hariot, to whom we owe the knowledge of the potat
of tobacco, and who, first of any member of the C
of England, made missionary efforts to convert the
Indians. The majority were of far less desirable q
and character, "bad natures," as Hariot described
"brawling freebooters, ignorant of husbandry, and
posed to peaceful industry, though eager for adve
and covetous of fortune." The hopes of the promot
the enterprise found a most inadequate fulfillment.
one year from their arrival the sails of Sir Francis D
fleet appeared on the horizon and offered supplies t
colonists; but they suddenly determined to abando

pedition had been left, and where now the only traces of them were their bones and their dismantled and deserted habitations. The colonists were disheartened from the outset, and soon became involved in hostilities with the Indians. The governor was persuaded to return home to secure needed supplies. He took about half the colonists with him, but, as a fair evidence of his purpose to speedily return, left behind his daughter and granddaughter.

A most interesting episode in the history of this ill-fated colony was the baptism of Manateo, the first Indian convert, on August 13, 1587, and, on the following Sunday (August 20th), of Virginia Dare, born two days previously. She was the governor's granddaughter, and the first child born of English parents in America. Thus were admitted to the Christian church the first child and the first convert of a colony soon to disappear from the face of the earth. The needed relief was of necessity delayed until it was too late. In the beginning of the year 1588 the formidable Spanish Armada was gathered and partly afloat. Every maritime exertion of the mother-country had to be put forth to vanquish this gigantic enemy of England's state and church. Until this danger passed, to guard the home was a necessity more imperative than to succor colonists. Thus the settlement at Roanoke remained unsuccored until it had disappeared. It was not until 1590 that White could revisit the colony. All that he found were certain old chests and water-soaked charts and books and a few rusty cannon. Of the colonists themselves there was no trace. They were either destroyed by the Indians or amalgamated with them. White returned to England in utter ignorance of their fate, and without in the least advancing the settlement of the country.

at colonization, became eager to pre
South America, which seemed to pro
adventure and in profit. Being embar
outlay in Virginia and North Carolina, h
retaining his patent, made over to Sir
a company of merchants in London all t
leges conferred upon him by letters p
This company took no steps toward the
tion of the country; and at the end of
had elapsed since Cabot's discovery of
settlement indicative of England's pow
to be found on the Western continent.
ever, had created the spirit of colonizati
possessions in North America to the E

Early in the seventeenth century rene
made toward American colonization, fo
thing was favorable. The year followi
King James I. was one of peace, the f
There was a redundancy of populati
class lived most uncomfortably, in mere
there was lack of employment. The
and the wars in the Netherlands had
giving occupation to the surplus pop
training which developed a spirit of
and when expeditions were set on
world, its mystery, and the promise

lodgment there; but the intended colonists fell to wrangling, and amid general discontent the whole company sailed for home. Sir Walter promptly confiscated the cargo of sassafras and cedar, concerning the division of which the crew had quarreled, on the plea that the expedition infringed his patent. A settlement was made sufficiently to his advantage to induce him to send out an expedition again; and Martin Pring, with his express permission, took charge of the two vessels—the "Speedwell" and the "Discoverer"—and, sailing, sighted islands on the coast of Maine June 2, 1603. He then bore southward and made harbor at what became subsequently Plymouth, in Massachusetts Bay. Here he remained six weeks, gathering sassafras, and returned home again in October. He thus became acquainted with the land of the Pilgrims seventeen years before the Pilgrims came; and here the service of the Church of England was celebrated in advance of the Puritans, who on these shores afterward rejected it.

In 1605 an expedition, commanded by George Waymouth, sailed from Dartmouth, which was destined to have an important bearing on the future of New England colonization. He arrived off the coast of Maine in June, and explored the Kennebec River for forty miles. He planted a cross as a mark of discovery and possession, and set sail for England June 16th, carrying with him five savages whom he had kidnapped. The narrative of this voyage which was soon published, describing the coast of Maine as it appeared in summer-time, together with the curiosity aroused by the presence of the Indians, awakened a widespread interest. It attracted the attention of Sir John Popham, Lord Chief-Justice. Sir Fernando Gorges, as royal governor at Plymouth, took the Indians in charge, kept three of them in his house for three years, having

cerning the islands and harbors of their native country. He thus became an enthusiast concerning settlements in the New World, and a new impulse was given to Western adventure.

In the spirit of enthusiasm thus aroused, both Lord Chief-Justice Popham and Sir Fernando Gorges made efforts, by sending several ships to the river Sagadahoc or Kennebec, to accomplish a settlement there. These were captured by the Spaniards; but Pring, commanding another ship of Popham's, reached the shore in safety, and made a careful survey of it, in consequence of which plans for a permanent colony were projected. This last expedition, which started in May, 1607, did not accomplish any permanent settlement. It discovered the cross which Waymouth had set up two years before; and there the company landed, and the preacher of the colony, Sir Richard Seymour, held a solemn service, preached a sermon, and offered prayers. This is the first record of a religious service performed by any English or Protestant clergyman within the bounds of New England, which was then and there consecrated to Christian civilization. By reason of the death of Lord Chief-Justice Popham, the patentee, and of Captain George Popham (his brother), the leader of the enterprise, as well as of a fire which destroyed the houses which they built, and by the unexpected inclemency of the winter climate, the colonists became discouraged, and all set sail for England in the ship which came bringing them supplies. The short-lived colony is, however, worthy of note, because the claim of the English to the possession of the territory of New England rests upon this settlement. It is interesting, moreover, as a witness to the performance of the service of the Church of England as the first religious worship in the region afterward to become the land of the Pilgrims.

CHAPTER II.

THE VIRGINIA CHARTER AND SETTLEMENT.

THE time for mere individual adventure and private expeditions was now over. Experience had proved them too large and costly for single persons to undertake. On April 10, 1606, King James I. granted the first charter of Virginia, on the general plan of the East India Company, which had been organized for purposes of trade in 1599. This charter provided for the establishment of a company, or of one company in two branches, namely, the London Colony and the Plymouth Colony, the former having authority to occupy lands between 34° and 41° of north latitude, and the latter to occupy lands between 38° and 45° of north latitude. As is evident, these colonies overlapped each other in the region lying between 38° and 41° north latitude, common to them both. Neither colony was permitted to plant a settlement within a hundred miles of a settlement previously planted by the other. Each company was to have a hundred miles of seacoast, half to the north and half to the south of its colony, with the islands for a hundred miles eastward on the coast, and territory on the mainland to the same extent westward. The West was at that time a wholly unknown region as to its extent. In the original charter, Sir Thomas Gates, Richard Hakluyt, Edmund Wingfield, and George Popham (brother of Sir John Popham, the Chief-Justice), with others, were the corporators; but in the Superior Council

appointed by the king six months later, Sir John Po
and Fernando Gorges were included. In the set o
structions issued by the authority of the king as a
of constitution of the company it was stipulated tha
Church of England was to be maintained, and it wa
joined to use all proper means to draw the natives t
true knowledge and love of God.

Before the expedition left England for Virginia an
nance was passed, under the sign-manual of the kin
the privy seal, which contained the following declara
"That the said Presidents, Councils, and the Min
should provide that the Word and service of Go
preached, planted, and used, not only in the said Col
but also, as much as might be, among the savages bo
ing among them, according to the rites and doctrin
the Church of England."

The expedition thus commissioned in regard to spi
and ecclesiastical matters sailed from Blackwall Dec
19, 1606, and reached Virginia April 26, 1607, bein
months on the way. It took with it, however, not m
instructions on paper concerning its religious obliga
but a most admirable and godly man as chaplain to
them out. This first colonial clergyman was Rev. R
Hunt, one of the petitioners for the charter, and desig
by Archbishop Bancroft at the solicitation of Win
who was the first elected president of the colonists

ginning of the voyage, when, as it is related in Smith's "Virginia," they "by unprosperous winds were kept six weeks in sight of England, all which time Mr. Hunt our preacher was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although we were but twenty miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than atheists, of the greatest rank among us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designs (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with water of patience and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted example) quenched those flames of envie and dissension." On the 13th of May the colony landed, and began the settlement of Jamestown, on the north bank of the James River, about thirty-two miles from its mouth. There was erected the first church in Virginia.

"I well remember," writes Smith in his "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England," "wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or four trees to shaden us from the sunne, our walles were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut plankes; our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees. This was our Churche till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon crotchets covered with rafts, sedge and earth; so was also the walles, that could neither well defend wind nor raine. Yet we had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the Holy Communion, till our minister

we continued two or three yeares after till more Prea

of Salisbury, and Francis Bacon were among them; lso Abbot, then Bishop of London, and afterward bishop of Canterbury; the Bishops of Lincoln and cester, and Bath and Wells; Sandys, the pupil of ker; and John and Nicholas Ferrar; and again Hak- whose interest never flagged. Sermons were preached e London churches, for the first time, to those about to forth the name and character of the Church of Eng- to the New World. A notable one was that delivered uary 21, 1609, by William Crashaw, preacher at the ple, in the presence of Lord de la Warr and the Vir- council, a few months before the departure of the dition. At its conclusion he thus addressed the first rnor of Virginia: "Thy ancestor many hundred years gained great honour to thy house; but by this action augmentest it: he tooke a King prisoner in the field s own land; but by the godly managing of this busi-, thou shalt take the Diuell prisoner in open field and is owne kingdome. . . . And thus the glory and ur of thy house is more at the last than at the first. not at the gaine, the wealth, the honour, but looke ose high and better ends that concerne the Kingdom od. Remember thou art a General of Christian men, fore looke principally to religion. You goe to com- l it to the heathen: then practice it yourselves; make ame of Christ honourable not hatefull unto them."

is thus evident that the spirit of Christian love ated the hearts of some who were engaged in this ial enterprise. Many insubordinate and disreputable acters were enlisted in this new company of five hun- who went out to reinforce the Virginia Colony; but pirit of the company and of the leaders was sober and ous. Lord de la Warr, under the new charter, was

led their devotions in a "zealous and sorrowful" prayer. The destitution was so great that Gates resolved to abandon the settlement and proceed to Newfoundland. On the evening of June 7th the vessels, with all on board, dropped down the river with the tide, "none dropping a tear, because none had enjoyed one day of happiness." The Virginia Colony seemed to be at an end.

But the ships of De la Warr were in the offing. Gates, the next morning, while waiting for the tide, descried a boat approaching, which announced the arrival of the expedition. The forlorn remnant of a colony returned to the deserted settlement; and there, a few days later, on Sunday the 10th of June, Lord de la Warr was received by the lieutenant-governor and his destitute companions, drawn up under arms. He was so affected by the melancholy sight that he fell upon his knees and prayed silently in the presence of all the people. When he arose a procession was formed, which marched at once to the church, where a sermon was preached by Master Burke; and not until the conclusion of divine service did he assume command of the colony. Among the earliest acts of his government were provisions for spreading and preserving the gospel among the colonists. The church was at once handsomely repaired, and daily morning and evening prayer were performed within it. On Sundays De la Warr attended in state, accompanied by all the public officers, and a guard in "faire red cloakes," to the number of fifty, on each side

accompanied him, so that Master Burke was no l
alone. Lord de la Warr's administration was, how
short-lived. His health compelled him to return
after a year's sojourn in Virginia. He had, almost i
diately after his arrival, petitioned for more clerical
and in "The Table of such as are required in their
tation," issued by the council of the company at h
"foure honest and learned ministers" head the list.

Alexander Whitaker, son of the master of St. J
College, Cambridge, was the most eminent of those
followed in the company of Sir Thomas Dale, the succ
of Lord de la Warr. He was a man of great energy
earnestness. The fact that Pocahontas was converte
baptized by him has made his name conspicuous; bu
labors, both for the colonists and the natives, gave
a right to the title "Apostle to the Indians," by w
he became designated. He left station, wealth, the
prospect of preferment, and many cultivated friends,
own free motion, "to help beare the name of God
the Gentiles." The presence of such a man was a c
cration to the colony. Glover also, a Cambridge gra
somewhat advanced in years, and in easy circumsta
but animated by the same missionary and martyr
as Whitaker, came over in June, 1611, with Sir Th
Gates, on whom the government now devolved, and
embarked with his wife and daughter and three hu

imagined when women were sent over in shiploads for wives to the settlers, and when freebooters, eager for adventure and gold, pressed continually in. There was doubtless occasion for rigorous rule, but not excuse for the savage provision of the "Lawes, diuine, morall and martiall," which were promulgated by the home company for the use of Sir Thomas Dale. These laws were in great measure copied from the laws observed in the Low Countries during the wars there, in which Dale had served with distinction. They put the church under martial law, and tended to make it odious. They were administered with great moderation, in fact, were allowed to slumber, by Dale; but they empowered him to put to death all who spoke against the holy Trinity or the articles of the Christian faith, or who uttered blasphemy or unlawful oaths. To be openly whipped three times was the penalty for behaving irreverently to any preacher or minister of God's Word; and absence from divine service upon week-days or "the Saboth," if persisted in after fine and whipping, brought condemnation for six months to the galleys, or even death. These and other like laws, to the number of thirty-seven, were to be read every "Saboth" publicly in the congregation by the minister, "upon paine of his entertainment checkt for that weeke."

To a community of a character to suggest the propriety of such laws the ministrations of religion must have been both arduous and depressing. That they were faithfully executed, even enthusiastically fulfilled, by the devoted men who had undertaken the work is conspicuously evident. The whole tone and scope of Whitaker's "Good Newes from Virginia," published in London in 1613, demonstrate this. He makes this appeal to his countrymen: "Awake, you true-hearted Englishmen, you servants of Jesus Christ, remember that the Plantation is God's, and

the reward your country's." Many circumstances now occurred to strengthen the colony. The conversion and baptism of Pocahontas, daughter of the Indian chief Powhatan, and her marriage to John Rolfe, an English gentleman, with her subsequent visit in 1616 to England, where she died, did much to deepen and extend the interest of sober-minded persons in England in the colony. It had a favorable effect for a while upon the relations of the colony with the Indians, resulting in a treaty of peace with Powhatan in 1614.

The systematic cultivation of tobacco, which began about 1612, is attributed to John Rolfe; and it was so lucrative as to soon become the all-controlling occupation of Virginia. It became an element in all its political and religious disturbances, besides greatly increasing its commercial relations, and it was the most direct instigation of African slavery. The third charter, granted in 1612, introduced a wiser policy respecting the possession of land. Up to this time no land had been held in America as a private possession; but now a certain quantity was allowed to each freeman, a portion of its fruit being received as rent. This proved a great stimulus to agricultural industry. When Argall, who succeeded Gates in 1617, came out as deputy governor, he found the streets of Jamestown planted with tobacco. Argall did much by his tyranny to retard the colony; he reinstated the martial code, which Gates had dispensed with; but after two years he was driven out, and at the coming of Sir George Yeardley (1619) a new era began. Under him the laws of England took the place of Dale's iron code; and the first representative body of legislators that ever existed in America was now constituted, a year before the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. The House of Burgesses met in the chancel of the church at Jamestown, July 30, 1619, and

was duly opened with prayer by Master Parke. It exercised judicial as well as legislative authority. It confirmed the authority of the Church of England in the colony, and made laws concerning religious observances, such as attendance at church twice on Sunday, which was compulsory. It was provided that the clergy should have in each borough a glebe of one hundred acres, and receive from the profits of each parish a standing revenue of two hundred pounds. The dues of the minister were paid mostly in tobacco; and in 1621–22 it was enacted that each clergyman should have fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco and sixteen barrels of corn. If this could not be raised, "the minister was to be content with less." At the time of this first establishment of the Church of England in Virginia by the action of the House of Burgesses there were only five clergymen in the colony, and two of these were in deacon's orders. The state undertook the matter of ecclesiastical discipline, and passed numerous laws regulating the conduct and duties of both clergy and laity. Negligent clergy were answerable to the governor and Council of Estate; and before proceeding to excommunicate any layman, the clergy were to present their opinions to the governor. Special directions were given for preaching, catechising, and administration of the sacraments; and special punishments were decreed for idleness, gaming, and swearing. The passion for display in even so primitive a community is evidenced by the provision that the rate for public contributions was to be assessed in the church on the apparel of the men and women, for the express purpose of restraining immoderate excess in dress.

The interests of education were not neglected. Measures were passed looking to the foundation of a college, and specific directions were given that from the children of the natives "the most towardly boyes in witt and graces

they might be missionaries to their own people.
college was intended for the English as well as the Ind
In response to an address to the archbishops, fifteen
dred pounds was received for the college; and the
pany instructed Yeardley to plant a university at Her
and allotted ten thousand acres of land for its endowm
Further sums were also received; one, a bequest of
Nicholas Ferrar, Sr., a merchant of London, of three
dred pounds, "to be paid when there shall be three o
Infidels' children placed in it;" also twenty-four po
"to be distributed to three discreet and godly men i
colony which shall honestly bring up three of the Inf
children in the Christian Religion and some good c
to live by." Bishop King, of London, collected and
a thousand pounds to the Henrico college. The su
five hundred pounds was forwarded to the treasure
Edwin Sandys (son of the Archbishop of York and
of Richard Hooker), for the education of Indian chi
from seven years of age until twelve, after which they
to be taught some trade until they were twenty-one,
they were to be admitted to equal privileges wit
native English of Virginia. Numerous gifts of com
ion plate and linen, of Bibles and Prayer-books, were
out for the use of the college and church; and Th
Bargrave, a clergyman, gave his library to it. Rev

t them in providing "pious, learned, and pa
s." The bishop was forthwith chosen a mer
's council for Virginia; and, as the result
g's personal and official interest and love, tl
diction of the Bishop of London was hence
ously recognized in America during the wh
s colonial history, though no special measur
time, or ever, adopted to formally incorporat
ny American colony, within the diocese of
ne population of the colony was now reinfor
rtation of women for wives, and also of boy
apprentices and servants. Ninety young
l repute were shipped to Virginia at the
company, and these were followed later
xty. Convicts, also, to the number of a
sent as laborers by the arbitrary mand.

This tyrannical act of James, as Smitl
n of the colony, wrote, "hath laid one of
tries of America under just scandal of bei
upon earth, another Siberia, and only fit for
of malefactors and the vilest of the people.
year (1620) negro slavery was introduce
ny, not by the company, but by the private
of the settlers in Jamestown, who purchas

church was set to leaven with Christian truth and prac
It is not strange that out of such moral and social c
order and propriety could not be speedily evolved.

In 1621 Sir Francis Wyatt succeeded Yeardley as
ernor, and he came out bringing a written constituti
government. In certain articles of instruction whic
bore the first recommendation was: "To take into esp
regard the service of Almighty God and the observan
his Divine laws and that the people should be train
true religion and virtue. And since their endeavour
the Establishment of the honour and rights of the ch
and ministry had not yet taken due effect, they wer
quired to employ their utmost care to advance all t
appertaining to the Order and Administration of D
Service according to the form and discipline of the Ch
of England. . . . They were to use all probable mea
bringing over the natives to a love of civility and t
knowledge of God and his true religion; to draw the
disposed among the Indians to commune and labour
our people, for a convenient reward, that thereby l
reconciled to a civil way of life, and brought to a sen
God and religion, they might afterwards become in
ments in the general conversion of their countrymen.

The written constitution brought over by Wyatt
spur to the progress of the colony. It provided
While the governor and council were to be appoint

among them, who received kind treatment; for, while the letter of the colonial law in ecclesiastical matters was the echo of the despotic courts in England, the church being assuredly established in the colonies as at home, the spirit of the administration was mild and equitable. This treatment of Puritans by churchmen has been contrasted with the treatment of churchmen by Puritans in New England. Jefferson, indeed, affirms that, with the exception of capital executions, the same intolerant spirit prevailed in Virginia as in Boston and Salem. But what may have been true fifty years later, under exceptional circumstances, is rejected by the calmer spirit of Bancroft as true of this period.[1] And, pleasant as is the recognition of the spirit of tolerance in Virginia at this time, it must be confessed that, backed by a powerful government and hierarchy in England, they had far less to fear from the presence of Puritans than Puritans, proscribed at home, might not unnaturally apprehend from the presence of churchmen among them. The colony was filled with hope, which begat tolerance, and, invigorated by immigration, seemed fairly set forward in the way of prosperity. These fair prospects, however, were soon to be blasted by an untoward and totally unexpected massacre by the Indians. The natives had given no sign; but for several years some thirty Indians had been maturing a conspiracy for the extirpation of the whites. On March 22, 1622, they fell upon the colonists and slaughtered, without distinction of age or sex, three hundred and forty-seven persons. As a result, many plantations were abandoned. Of eighty, only eight remained; and out of four thousand inhabitants, only about two thousand were left. Thorp, who had devoted himself to the interests of the Indians, was among their victims.

A spirit of unrelenting severity was not unnaturally

Previous to it the general sentiment had been kindly not without exception. A year before the massacre, Jonas Stockham, in a letter written to Whitaker to be warded to the council, had declared that "Mars and nerva" must go hand in hand to effect any good among Indians, and that "till their Priests and Ancients have throats cut there is no hope to bring them to convers This exceptional opinion now became general. Smi his "Virginia," says the massacre "caused them all t lieve the opinion of Master Stockham." The thoug civilizing the Indians was deemed chimerical; the pu to assist them was denounced as enthusiastic. Aft the appointments and endowments, neither the colle Henrico nor the Indian school at Charles City was ceeded with. Years elapsed before the attempt to e lish a college was renewed. Indian missions had rec their death-blow.[1] The colony slowly recovered fro great disaster. Among the thirty-five laws passed years after it, the first seven were devoted to the int of the church, providing for the erection of hous worship, and setting apart of burial-grounds; also fo formity of faith and worship with the English Ch enforcing attendance at public worship, enjoining res ful treatment and the payment of a settled stipend t colonial clergy, and prescribing a yearly fast on the

kely to please Spain (to a princess of which ished to marry Prince Charles), and also be- offended at the resistance to his attempts to tion of the company, who had failed to ap- nominees to office. Every misfortune of the l as an argument for abrogating its charter; ground of accusation was lack of missionary onversion and education of the Indians.

ge of government produced no direct altera- ous matters. The previous laws continued in lecisions of the High Court of Commissioners e acknowledged as authoritative, but distance practical severity. The church slowly gath- , and, being considered a branch of the Estab- ome, claimed the protection of the same laws. in 1628, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, nia, the Assembly voted to require of him aths of supremacy and allegiance. Sir John e governor in 1629, and then mildness in the n of ecclesiastical laws ceased. During the s of the colony's existence no record is found ity inflicted for nonobservance of the ordi- e church; but now an act was passed, at igation, enjoining, under severe penalties, nity to the canons of the church. The harsh f this period are not so much an evidence that t a low ebb as that the severity now become n England was deemed to be an acceptable e authorities there. The punishments inflicted for practical, not doctrinal offenses; not for ferent faith, but for not living up to that which This, however, soon changed. Fresh laws for the expulsion of Puritans, and threats gainst all who showed sympathy with them.

and it provoked reaction. Up to Henry's
the colonists were content to remain in
the church in which they had been reared.
sequence of the exasperation of his rule, an
by seventy-one persons, was made, in the
s successor's (Sir William Berkeley) adminis-
General Court of Massachusetts, "to send
e gospel into that region, that its inhabitants
leged with the preaching and ordinances of
[1] In consequence, three persons went out
onal missionaries to the Church of England
An act of the legislature of the same year
stay. All non-Episcopal ministers were by
officiate in the colony. Yet, as Governor
, "Though the State did silence the minis-
ey would not conform to the order of Eng-
people resorted to private houses to hear
the attachment of Virginia to the Church
s overwhelming and conscientious, though,
evoted churchmen, tyranny provoked such
evolt. When the revolution came, and the
h was established in England, Virginia was
s the last colony to submit to the Parliament.
erkeley had come over as governor in 1642,
keep out innovations in religion; and when,
ution of Charles I., he resolved not to sur-
Parliament without a struggle, he was backed
ers of Cavaliers, who had drifted during the
les of England into Virginia, whose popula-
omputed at twenty thousand. When at last
tulate, he succeeded in securing terms liberal
It was stipulated that, in regard to church

storical Sketch of the First Church in Boston," p. 75.
hrop"; Hubbard, "History of New England."

affairs, the use of the Book of Common Prayer shou permitted for one year ensuing, "provided that those which relate to Kingship and government be not publiquely;" also "the continuance of ministers an payment of their dues to be left as they were, for the ensuing." It is probable that a further use of the Pr book was connived at; for, while "no formal injun of obedience to the doctrine and discipline of the E Church occurs in any records of the Grand Assembly ing the Commonwealth, all matters relating to the n ters and parochial affairs were left to the discretion o people. In the exercise of their discretion, the major the people were anxious to retain, and it is believe retain, the teaching of the Church of England."[1]

As a result of the political disturbance there was a crease of unconcern about religion. Many places be destitute of ministers; for the people ceased to pay customary dues, and religious instruction was negl At the time of the Restoration, of the fifty parishes which the colony was now divided, the greater nu were without glebe, parsonage, church, and minister deed, there were not more than ten ministers left i colony. The colonial legislature acted promptly o instructions given to Sir William Berkeley on his reapp ment as royal governor, and provision was made "f building and due furnishing of churches, for the cam

l he refuse to take his child to be baptized by a
nister within the county, he should be amerced
sand pounds of tobacco. No Quakers were
in New England; but the proscription of them
ell during the Commonwealth, and the dread of
equently (which led Charles II. to write to the
Massachusetts, "We cannot be understood to
any indulgence be granted to those persons
called Quakers"), engendered a kindred spirit
, and gave rise to a decree which exacted a
a hundred pounds from the commander of any
h should bring a Quaker into the colony; and or-
all Quakers who might arrive should at once be
until they had given security to depart; that if
ned a third time they were to be tried as felons;
person was to entertain Quakers, or permit any
semblies to be held in or near his house, upon
ing a hundred pounds. That there was political
ngled with this religious proscription is true; and
rue that the early Quakers were very different
more peaceable descendants. But the principle of
leration was also wholly absent. When James II.
the throne the dread of popery added a new
the ecclesiastical situation. The rumor of a
en the Indians and the few papists in the colony
reat commotion; and, loyal as Virginia had been
rts, the accession of William and Mary gave great
was heartily welcomed.

eantime, after Berkeley had been reinstated by
commission of Charles II., the control in eccle-
atters had been put in the hands of twelve ves-
each parish, who were to fill their own vacancies.
great influence on the state of the church; for
or the support of the church and of the poor

because they paid the minister, claimed the right of
entation, and could exercise it despite the governor,
they could refuse to pay the salary. The vestries, in
not unfrequently avoided presentation altogether by h
ministers from year to year. Thus the clergy were
subservient to the will of those who supported them.
were many good men among them; but the systen
such that the character of many neither commande
deserved respect. In the report of Berkeley in 1671 t
Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, on the conditi
the colony, wherein he reported a population of forty
sand, including two thousand negro slaves and six thou
white servants, he speaks thus of the church: "Ther
forty-eight parishes, and the ministers well paid. The e
by my consent would be better if they would pray of
and preach less. But of all other commodities, so of
the worst are sent us. But I thank God there are n
schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have
hundred years." The governor doubtless voiced the
vailing sentiment of the community; and that senti
was not stimulating to earnestness and devotion.
number of parishes was often twice as great as the nu
of the clergy. Morgan Godwin, who had been a st
at Christ Church, Oxford, and an ordained minister in
ginia, and afterward a missionary in the Barbadoes, a

osed) it were the only end of God's discover
tries to us, yet is that lookt upon by our ne
tians, so idle and ridiculous, so utterly nee
cessary, that no man can forfeit his judgm
by any proposal looking or tending that wa
is melancholy state of things was not per
without some effort to remedy it. In a pam
"Virginia's Cure," by one who declares h
been an eye-witness for two years of the thin
scribes, the state of affairs in the colony was
e notice of the Bishops of London and Wi
stating many of the evils we have already
peals for the presence of a bishop in order
t them. There seems to have been a serious a
this appeal. The nomination of the Rev. A
ay to that office was, according to Anderson
red at one period of Clarendon's administra
natter proceeded no further. However, in
James Blair, a Scotchman, whom Compton, l
on, persuaded to go as a missionary to Vi
was appointed commissary of the bishop,
nissary duly commissioned for any of the
ad authority, as representative of the bishop,
tions throughout the territory assigned to l

pline was impossible. Dr. Blair, however, magnifi
office. He was a practical man, of clear mind and ind
gable perseverance; and, being sincerely religious, hi
vices proved invaluable to the church in Virginia.
once perceived that the colony must educate its own c
in order to secure men apt to the situation; and so
once set about the revival of the project for the erect
a college, originally suggested in 1662. Receiving au
ity from the provincial legislature to present to W
and Mary the petition for a charter to found the colle
went to England for that purpose. The queen was f
able, and the king gave two thousand pounds due t
crown from Virginia. The merchants of London ha
ready given twenty-five hundred pounds, and Blair hi
contributed, from a sum presented to him by the C
Assembly. The institution, according to Dr. Blair,
received the benefit of one half of what was thus g
He met with discouragements and difficulties at every
When he urged Seymour, the attorney-general, to pr
the required charter, begging him to consider tha
people in Virginia had souls to be saved as well a
people in England, the answer was, "Souls! Damn
souls! Make tobacco." But the charter was s
February 8, 1692-93. It stipulated that the co
should be called by the name of "William and Ma

Assembly was also conferred on the college; and appointed its first president. The building was tely destroyed by fire in 1705, and was with or re' ilt. The college eventually became a great usefulness, though for seventy years it d more than twenty students at one time. It at once supply the want of clergymen, which ncipal object of its establishment. In the regu- ecclesiastical affairs arising from this want the ry was often brought into collision and disagree- the civil authorities, especially with Governors nd Nicholson. The church, however, suffered no advantage from these dissensions, which were in sioned by Blair's own lack of gentleness and for- Whatever his infirmities, they were the faults of inently in earnest; and it is written of him that, single exception of Dr. Bray, the commissary of there was no clergyman of the Establishment, to this country during its colonial existence, to church in the southern part of the continent was ly indebted."[1] When he died, at the advanced hty-eight, he had been in orders sixty-four years, ry for Virginia fifty-three years, college presi- -nine years, and for fifty years a member of the ncil.

n the year after Dr. Blair's appointment as com- 690) that a new feature was introduced into the cal life of the colony in the sending of a number not refugees by King William to Virginia, fol- 699 by another body of six hundred, with their der Philippe de Richebourg. In 1700 the As- Virginia passed an act making these French a distinct parish by themselves, and exempted

[1] F. L. Hawks, D.D., "Virginia," p. 75.

them from the payment of all taxes for seven years.
had their own minister, and worshiped after their
manner. This parish of King William, in the cou
Henrico, formed an admirable addition to the soci
Virginia. Many of the descendants of these Hugu
have been distinguished in the history of the Stat
similar act of kindness was shown in 1713 to a small
of German emigrants, settlers above the falls of the
pahannock, a frontier of civilization, whom it was a n
of interest to the colony to protect. Like the French
were formed into a separate parish of St. George,
power to employ their own minister on their own t
and were exempted from all ordinary taxes for ten
Thus these two religious communities, differing each
own way from the Establishment, were fostered by

At this same period laws were enacted for the su
sion of vice and the restraint of blasphemy, which in
a state of irreligion and immorality which the rulers
well seek to assuage by the introduction of the noble
ments of these foreign communities. However inade
this civil regulation of religious offenses may seem in
parison with the discipline of a fully equipped chu
shows a determination of the government to assis
community in the light of religious obligation. O
evidence is again given by the appropriation in 17

At this time (1720) we get a more accurate knowledge of the condition of the church than formerly. The whole number of counties in Virginia was twenty-nine, and there were forty-four parishes. These parishes, however, were of very unequal size. Some were very small, and some sixty miles long. In each parish there was a church, built of stone, brick, or wood, which was enlarged from time to time and sufficiently furnished for the decent performance of divine service. In the larger parishes there were one or more chapels of ease, so that the places of worship numbered about seventy. Every parish, moreover, possessed a dwelling-house for the minister, and some of them glebes of two hundred and fifty acres. More than half the churches of the Establishment were supplied with clergymen; and where there was no minister, services were performed by a lay reader. To outward appearance the condition of the church seemed prosperous; but, although a hundred and fifteen years had elapsed since the first clergyman landed in Virginia, the state of religion was low. There is evidence that some, both of the clergy and laity, were sincerely and deeply religious; but worthy and consistent Christians did not form a large class of the population. The cause is to be found largely in the manner of the appointment of the clergy and the absence of proper ecclesiastical control when once they came; and then in the consequent action of the laity, and their power, through the vestries, of silencing or starving a too faithful incumbent. The Bishop of London was the ultimate source of a clergyman's commission; but, with every disposition on his part to send only deserving clergymen into the colony, he was liable to be grossly deceived, and he had not a promising class to select from. Inferior powers and limited attainments were considered sufficient for a missionary to Virginia; and persons were often recommended because

When one arrived, the precarious tenure of the l
tended to beget a time-serving spirit or an indifferen
an earnest discharge of his duties. Where unworth
was manifest there could not be an efficient ecclesia
censure. Far removed from his diocesan, and standi
little awe of a commissary whose powers were limite
unworthy man might offend morals and yet remain i
church, a reproach to her ministry. The frequent dis
between pastors and people were due generally t
harassing uncertainty concerning support. The pow
vestries in this regard was compulsory, and was wi
often most oppressively; so that faithfulness woul
visited by stoppage of supplies and dismissal at the e
a year. Vacancies, occasioned by death, remained unf
the election of a successor being refused in order to e
the payment of the stipend. Thus, though the churc
nominally under the protection of the state, it experi
the evils of an alliance without reaping its advant
Without a bishop, without a native clergy, its ecclesia
constitution was too feeble to give it a vigorous lif
discipline; and the practice of punishing the spi
offenses of the laity by temporal penalties begot grea
fiance and hatred among the population. In consequ
irregularities of various kinds in the use of the liturgy

ty of electors." Owing to the difficulty, expense, and ger of sending the children of the wealthy to England their education, many were allowed to grow up with t imperfect training. The smallpox was at that period a scourge as to greatly limit the number of applicants, for orders and for education, to the mother-country. re was, in consequence, a great dearth of literary cul- ; and society, formed amid the influences of a plenti- provision for physical wants, was without a correspond- intellectual stimulus. The climate was charming, the ery beautiful, the soil fertile, the needs of subsistence y procured; but there was no city life, and none of the tal friction which comes of its busy intercourse. The ters lived by themselves on large estates. The culti- on of tobacco was the absorbing occupation. In ex- nge for this commodity, shipped directly in his own el, from his own port on the river or bay, the planter d receive at his own door everything which he re- ed which he could not raise. He imported his common sehold utensils; and such repairs as he needed were e by his own hands on his own estate. The develop- t of an aristocratic class was inevitable; a class char- rized by a love of social intercourse and a liberal hos- lity combined with high-bred courtesy, but unmarked n enlarged intellectual cultivation. The commoner le formed a class by themselves. As merchants they e petty, if prosperous, and as mechanics less intelli- and progressive than they would have been had e been more general demand for their labor and more petition. While the chief towns, as Jamestown and iamsburg, remained petty villages, there could be no rous development of an influential industrial class from the plantations, and there the institution of

A number of Scotch and Irish Presbyterians had for some years been gradually gathering in the outlying districts of eastern Virginia; and in 1740 and 1743 Samuel Morris, a man of unusual earnestness and devotion, held meetings for them in his house, reading passages to them from Luther's "Commentary on the Galatians," the "Pilgrim's Progress," and Whitefield's sermons. This incidental gathering became a movement, as the interest increased and the attendants multiplied. The attention of the Presbytery of New Castle in Delaware was called to it, and Robinson and Roan were sent to visit the people, and introduced among them the Confession of Faith. Samuel Davies, afterward president of Princeton College, New Jersey, was the most distinguished of those who organized and extended the operations of these assemblies. He was at this time a young man, of great talents and devoted piety. By his marked ability he won for them, against the opposition of Peyton Randolph, the attorney-general, the liberty of celebrating without molestation their religious services. On his arrival he complied with the laws of the colony concerning dissenters. He obtained a license for each meeting-house, taking the oaths of fidelity to the government, and subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with certain enumerated exceptions; such as the Thirty-fourth, "concerning traditions of the church;" the Thirty-fifth, "of the homilies;" the Thirty-sixth, "of the consecration of bishops and ministers;" and so much of the Twentieth as declares "the church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and is of authority in matters of faith." He thus obtained licenses for four meeting-houses, to which three more were soon added. He divided his labors among these seven, some of which were forty miles distant from one another. In three years he had gathered large congregations and enrolled three hundred communicants. The

earnest religious dissent as a permanent element int
life of Virginia, which from that time greatly influence
Establishment; for which reason it has been dwelt
Of course it met with strong opposition. The gov
protested, claiming that the Toleration Act of the
year of William and Mary did not extend to Vir
Davies argued that, in that case, the Act of Uniformit
not. The verdict of the court of Williamsburg was
favor, and it was afterward confirmed by the opini
the attorney-general of England. Dissent, needles
for the apathy of the Establishment and the neglect
officers, became thus legitimate and powerful.

Efforts for the quickening and extension of the
copal Church in the western part of the State were a
same period put forth by an earnest layman. M
Morgan, a native of Wales, emigrated to Virginia
Pennsylvania, and in 1740 erected the first Epis
church in the valley of Virginia. It is supposed t
exist in the "Mill Creek Church" of the parish of
chester. Morgan was one of those thoroughly ea
Christians unremitting in his efforts to carry religion
to the hearts and lives of men. He never intrench
the province of the clergyman, though often no cl
man could be had; but what a layman might do h
votedly did. He visited the sick and dying; he pr

stered often in vacant churches where there was no yman, and, being in easy circumstances, determined vote himself exclusively to keeping alive and quick- g piety in the church of his fathers. As was written m, " In a dark day, when desolation and death seemed ling over her interests, he commenced a career of e exertion, and by efforts of the most disinterested re revived the attachment of her friends and kept her descending to the dust. Even when encumbered the weight of years his labors were continued, and fruitful. A welcome visitor everywhere, beloved by and poor, he gathered large and attentive audiences, ministered faithfully to their souls. It is grateful to nize so earnest a spirit among the laity amid the spir- dearth of the clergy. It is a striking instance of the r of the church to promote its true life when once the of life animates its members and ministers."

cause which alienated, to a vast extent, the affections e people from the church lay not merely in the spirit- npineness of the ministry, but chiefly in a determined t on their part to defend themselves from the exactions e laity in regard to their stipends. These were pay- by the law of 1696, in tobacco; and whatever affected rice of this commodity affected the living of the clergy. 755 and 1758 there was a great scarcity in the tobacco and prices rose accordingly. A relief act was in each ese years passed, allowing parishioners to pay their to the clergy at the old price of tobacco; that is, at hirds less than its present market price. The clergy aled, through their commissary, to the Bishop of lon and the Board of Trade at home, and finally to ing; and they appealed successfully. The act of 1758 eclared null and void. The clergy, through one of

vincial courts, and the court decided in their favor.
judgment was most unwelcome to the general public
the only point which remained for the jury to deter
was the amount of damages sustained by the plaintiff.
defendants would not give up. They secured Pa
Henry who had even then a considerable reputatio
courage and eloquence, to argue their case in the en
term. So great was the interest excited that, whe
case came on, multitudes unable to gain admission t
court-room clambered up the windows to see and hear
they could. Henry denounced as intolerable the dec
of the council at home, and declared that the kin
whose authority such decision was enforced, was
father of his people, but a tyrant. The jury, as w
the audience, were spellbound by the magic power o
advocate. The verdict of a penny damages proclaime
greatness of his victory. He was carried in triumph
the court-room to receive the plaudits of the exulting
titudes without. The adverse influence excited again
whole church of Virginia by these proceedings was
digious. The clergy as a body never recovered fro
blow. They made no appeal against the verdict,
deemed all further resistance to be vain.

Though the cause of the clergy would now be gen
deemed just, no time could have been more inauspi
than this for directing public attention to the subje

This persecution created for them hosts of friends. Crowds would gather around their prisons to hear them preach from the grated windows. Men began to suspect that the Established Church was proving a burden instead of a blessing. The disastrous issue of the parsons' cause gave fresh hope and courage to the assailants of the church. The followers of Wesley, also, began to appear in considerable numbers in Virginia. Though they claimed still to be a portion of the English Church, the fervor of their piety and the enthusiasm of their methods tended to create a distinction between them and the lethargic clergy of the Establishment. Some of them, however, it quickened. Jarratt, who had become spiritually moved by them, crossed the ocean and received ordination from the Bishop of Chester. On his return, shortly after the decision of the parsons' cause, he entered upon his labors in the colony. He excited the scorn of the formalists by the earnestness of his preaching; but amid all opposition he continued steadfast, multiplying his labors, never weary in his work for souls, and with hope unshaken for a better state of things. He clung with strong affection to his church in the midst of her humiliation. While others despised and forsook her, he renewed the expression of his belief in the truth of her doctrine and apostolic order and the edifying spirit of her worship. To him, and such as he, the first workings of the renewed energy of the church in Virginia are to be traced.

The political aspect of affairs was also now tending to the disadvantage of the Establishment. Since the ecclesiastical and civil institutions of the mother-country were regarded as inseparable, in losing affection for the king, men lost affection for the church. "No king, no bishop!" seemed to them to be the consistent cry. When, then, the clergy of New York, in 1771, sought their coöperation in their efforts to obtain the presence of a bishop in America,

they failed. But few of the Virginia clergy could b
duced to come together to consider the question.
more than twelve appeared in council. After at firs
jecting the proposal, they finally voted to address the
asking for the appointment of a bishop in America.
after, four of them entered a formal protest, asserting
the establishment of an American episcopate would w
the connection between the mother-country and the
nies, and might occasion such disturbances as woul
danger the existence of the British empire in Am
For this protest these clergymen received the than
the House of Burgesses, although many of the memb
this House were members of the Established Church.
Rev. Jonathan Boucher and others denounced in s
terms the protest of the four clergymen and the app
of it by the House of Burgesses. Thus at the day
the Revolution the church was in a most lamentable
dition. Without were fightings and within were fea

At the beginning of hostilities, perhaps two thirds
clergy and a portion of the laity were loyalists.
distinguished clergymen, however, such as Jarratt

of the church in Virginia. Petitions poured into the State convention from the various religious sects of Virginia, as well as from the irreligious, praying for the abolition of church establishments. The members of the church and the Methodists alike joined in the counter-petition, but from this time all laws were repealed which declared the church to be the dominant teacher in the colony. All dissenters, also, were exempt from contributing to the support of the church. The glebes and the churches and chapels already built were retained for their congregations; but ultimately, after the Revolution, the legislature decreed that all glebe-lands in Virginia should be sold for the benefit of the public.

During the war the sufferings of the loyalist clergy were, of course, many and grievous. The prohibition to pray for the king was enforced upon them, some yielding and some refusing to yield. Political animosity and ecclesiastical hatred alike marked them out for victims. The church itself became desolated. Whereas at the beginning of the war Virginia contained ninety-five parishes, a hundred and sixty-four churches and chapels, and ninety-one clergymen, at its conclusion twenty-three parishes were entirely extinguished, and of those remaining thirty-four were without any clerical ministration. Only twenty-eight of the clergy survived; and of these not more than fifteen had been able to remain steadfast at their posts. The churches and chapels in almost every parish had fallen into ruin. They had during the war often been used as barracks or stables. The service-books and the communion-plate disappeared, and fonts were used for watering-troughs. When the war was ended, sorely smitten by poverty, and burdened with the prejudices excited by its connection with England, the church had to set to work to repair its property and reëstablish its spiritual rule. Pri-

of the committee appointed to bring in the bill. The bill provided that the minister and vestry of each parish should be a body corporate, allowed to acquire and use property, provided the income did not exceed eight hundred pounds per annum. They had power to make their own regulations for the management of their temporal concerns; and the vestry had the ordering of the payment of all moneys of the church. If in any parish there were no minister or vestrymen left, any two members of the Protestant Episcopal Church were authorized to call together all Episcopalians resident within that parish, who could elect, by a majority of votes, twelve discreet men, members of the church, who, when elected, should constitute a vestry. Vestrymen, when elected, before entering on their duties, were required to subscribe a declaration to conform to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. They then appointed from their own number two churchwardens, and could supply any vacancies occurring among themselves until the succeeding triennial election. All former laws made for the government of the church or clergy during the colonial existence of the State were repealed, and the church was authorized to regulate all her religious concerns and make such rules as she saw fit for orderly and good government. The Convention was to be composed of all ministers of the church *ex officio* and of two laymen from each parish, to be chosen by their respective vestries. Forty persons were necessary to constitute a Convention; and it was provided that no law should be made whereby clergymen might be received into or removed from a cure contrary to the consent of a majority of the vestry. The jealousy of the clergy manifest in these regulations was a heritage of the sad experience of the past.

No complaint was made by the clergy against these provisions. The passage of the resolution was hailed with

thankfulness, and a better day seemed about to dawn
the temporal interests of the church

The Baptists also joined in opposing it; and by the ad-
ocacy of Mr. Jefferson an act was passed, by the legislature
f 1785, entitled "An Act for establishing Religious Free-
om." This act decrees that no man shall be compelled to
requent or support any religious worship, place, or minis-
ry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested,
r burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer
n account of his religious opinions or belief, but that all
nen shall be free to profess, and by argument maintain,
heir opinions in matters of religion, and that the same
hall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil
apacities.

Such was the state of opinion and the condition of
ffairs when the first Convention of the Protestant Epis-
opal Church of Virginia was held after the Revolution. On
he 18th of May, 1785, thirty-six clergymen and seventy-
ne laymen assembled in the city of Richmond, and were
rganized by the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Madison,
resident of William and Mary College, as presiding officer.
he Rev. Robert Andrews was made secretary. The first
esolution adopted by the House, sitting as a committee of
he whole, on the state of the church was "that an address
e prepared to the members of the Protestant Episcopal
hurch in Virginia, representing the condition of the
hurch, and exhorting them to unite in its support." In
his document it is stated that since the year 1776 the
hurch had been without regular government; that her
inisters had received but little compensation for their
ervices, and that their numbers had been diminished by
eath and other causes, and that as yet there was no re-
ourse in themselves for a succession of ministers; that
heir churches stood in need of repair, and that there was
fund to accomplish it. Voluntary subscriptions by the

At a meeting held on the 6th of the succeeding October, in New York, the Rev. Dr. Griffith attended as a delegate from Virginia. This purely voluntary assemblage proposed certain principles of ecclesiastical union, to be submitted to the churches of the several States. The Virginia Convention, after expressing a willingness to unite in the changed ecclesiastical constitution with the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the other States of America, accepted with some criticism the articles proposed as the basis of union. They elected deputies to the proposed Convention in Philadelphia, and gave them general instructions as to the course they were to follow. These deputies were the Rev. Dr. Griffith, the Rev. Mr. McCroskey, with John Page and William Lee, Esquires, laymen. Their instructions urged the deputies to liberality and moderation in procuring uniformity in doctrine and worship, advocated simplicity of creed, and desired only the retention of the Apostles' Creed. They deprecated any but the most cautious changes in the liturgy, and desired that utility might be the test of such ceremonies as might be retained. After instructing the deputies to communicate to the General Convention the proposition concerning Danish ordination, a standing committee was appointed, to which was confided the power of calling a Convention.

The impulse given to the church under this new organization seems to have roused still further the animosity of its opponents. The Presbyterians and Baptists now circulated memorials to the legislature, asking not merely for a repeal of the law incorporating the church, but also that the property of the church might be disposed of for the benefit of the public. At the next Convention of the church, in May, 1786, a petition to the legislature was prepared, to counteract the effect of the hostile memorials of the Baptists and Presbyterians; but it was of no avail. In

Church was repealed. In May, 1787, the third Co
tion of the church assembled, but not, as before, und
act of incorporation. It was held that the effect o
repeal of that act returned the powers of the govern
and discipline of the church to the members at large.
members of the church in the several parishes had, t
fore, been invited to elect two deputies from each p
with full powers to form and establish such regulatio
government, discipline, and worship as they might
best; and to provide means for the care and proper
such property as remained to the church. The dimin
number of those who thus came together showed th
church had become disheartened by the persevering h
ity of its opponents, and that many looked upon a fu
contest as hopeless. Its enemies had not as yet succe
in procuring a distribution of its property. They lef
the condition in which it stood at the close of the Re
tion, with this change, however: that, having now ass
an organized form, it could better distinguish betwe
friends and its foes.

Previous to this time the Convention of the church
was held in Richmond May 24, 1786, had receive
report of the representatives to the General Conve
and a journal of the proceedings of that body wa
presented. The proposed constitution of the churc

by a large majority. He was never conse-
, by reason of his own poverty and that of
ans were not forthcoming to pay the ex-
rney to England. He was a man of high
would have nobly filled the position to which
lled.

s were appointed to attend the next Gen-
n. The Rev. Dr. Griffith was one of them.
l supervision could be had, the State was
Convention into twenty-four districts, and
ppointed for each of them. The powers of
ommittee were defined, and during the re-
ntions it was to take care generally of the
church.

of June, 1786, the delegates from Virginia,
d the Hon. Cyrus Griffin, appeared in Phil-
General Convention; and Dr. Griffith was
lent. With this act we may fitly terminate
the church of Virginia as an independent

CHAPTER III.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN MARYLAND.

THE fortunes of the Church of England in Mar
were not unlike those which befell the church in Vir
The social characteristics of the two colonies were
lar. The soil and climate were alike. Tobacco wa
chief agricultural product of both, and its culture influ
to a marked degree the social habits of the commu
while its fluctuations in value constituted the chief
ence on their fortunes. In consequence of this abso
interest in one product of the soil, commerce was depr
and plantations took the place of towns, causing the p
lation to be scattered, and strongly influencing the
ners of the people and their modes of life. As in Vir
slavery flourished, and convicts were imported for lab
who, on the termination of their sentences, were a

for Virginia. Having, however, become a Roman Catholic in 1625, he declined to take the oath of supremacy, and returned to England. Here he obtained a territory afterward named Maryland, in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria; but dying before the charter passed the seal, the grant was made to his son, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, in 1632. The charter, which was modeled on that of Avalon in Newfoundland, while Calvert was still a Protestant, made Lord Baltimore and his heirs proprietaries of the territory, which was to be a palatinate (like that of Durham in England), so that his prerogatives were almost regal. There was a formal and nominal acknowledgment of the fief in the annual payment of two Indian arrows and a fifth of all gold and silver which might be discovered; but the proprietary was to own the land, levy taxes, constitute courts, confer titles, and exercise, under a lax system of feudation, sovereign powers, both civil and military. In regard to religion the charter gave the proprietary the patronage and advowsons of churches, and empowered him to erect churches, chapels, and oratories, which he might cause to be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England. He was not, however, prevented from exercising full toleration to all religious bodies, and it was understood that Roman Catholics were not to be molested in the use of their customary rites of worship. Of course any attempt on the part of a Roman Catholic holding his patent from the crown of England to proscribe Protestants would have endangered and doubtless destroyed the colony; and the system of toleration which he adopted may have been defensive of himself and his co-religionists.

Though politic, Calvert was of a lenient disposition, as his father had been before him. While he aimed to provide a safe asylum for adherents of his own creed, he was mainly concerned to build up a lucrative and flourishing

respect of religion: I will make no difference of persons in conferring offices, favors, or rewards, for or in respect of religion; but merely as they shall be found faithful and well deserving, and endued with moral virtues and abilities: my aim shall be public unity, and if any person or officer shall molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, on account of his religion, I will protect the person molested, and punish the offender."

Such an anticipation of freedom of conscience and civil-service reform reflects the highest credit on both the heart and intelligence of Calvert. He had not learned it from the English Church, which his father had left; nor from the Roman Church, which he had joined; nor from the Puritans of Massachusetts, who deemed it as "a doctrine of devils." It was the outcome of his own convictions and kindly nature, and placed him distinctly among the benefactors of mankind. In 1648 Leonard Calvert, after the death of his brother Cecilius, gave a commission as governor to William Storer, a Protestant, subject to the condition of the oath that "none who accepted the fundamental doctrines of Christianity should be molested on account of their religion." A special oath was, moreover, required that Roman Catholics should be protected against interference with their belief and worship. Then, in 1649, the notable Act of Religious Freedom was passed by the Assembly, by which liberty of conscience in matters of religion was guaranteed by the governing body to all Christians, with the exception of disbelievers in the doctrine of the Trinity. This act of the Maryland legislature declared "that the enforcement of the conscience had been of dangerous consequence in those countries wherein it had been practiced, and therefore that no persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or

That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from, but protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion, etc., *provided* such liberty was *not extended to popery or prelacy.*" This state of affairs, however, was reversed, and legal protection was again accorded to Roman Catholics at the Restoration, by Philip Calvert, whom Charles II. appointed governor after he had ascended the throne. Henceforth all political affairs remained tranquil in the colony until the English Revolution of 1688, when the proprietary rule was finally abolished.

During all this period there is little or no mention of the English Church. It first emerged into notice in 1676, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Canterbury by a Rev. Mr. Yeo, of Patuxet, in which he declared that "the province of Maryland is in a deplorable condition for want of an established ministry. Here are ten or twelve counties, and in them at least twenty thousand souls, and but three Protestant ministers of the Church of England. The priests are provided for, and the Quakers take care of those that are speakers; but no care is taken to build up churches in the Protestant religion. The Lord's day is profaned; religion is despised; and all notorious vices are committed." Mr. Yeo proceeds "to beg that your lordship would be pleased to solicit him [Lord Baltimore] for some established support of a Protestant ministry." No law for the support of the Protestant clergy was passed by reason of this letter, for Lord Baltimore, when appealed to, showed the Act of 1649, which allowed equal privilege to all Christian bodies alike, and also informed the committee who waited upon him that the four ministers of the Church of England then in the province were in possession of plantations which afforded them a decent support. From this

time on there was a growth of hostility to the Chur
Rome.

The number of clergymen of the English Church
apace; but they were of a quality which made them
contents in politics and pernicious to the church.
a one was John Wood, who, beginning as a politicia
ending as a parson, was a fomenter of strifes and a rec
of spoils. He was not only immoral, but also an
liever; lectured on "The Absurdities of Christianity,
challenged Governor Nicholson to fight a duel becaus
governor had caned him for being drunk while condu
service on a Sunday. He was a violent instance of a
plaint only too general in Maryland and other Sou
colonies up to the time of the Revolution. The
popery" cry was now rife in England by reason of th
posture of Titus Oates; and a lax and lawless clergy
their followers could easily excite apprehension in the
ernment at home. Thus it came to pass under Charl
that Lord Baltimore was ordered "to put all the o
into the hands of the Protestants." James II., thou
the same religion as Baltimore, looked upon the char
liberties of the colonies with more aversion than Ch
and, being instigated by Father Petre, a Jesuit w
order Baltimore had offended, issued in 1687 the w
quo warranto. Its execution was only prevented b
flight of the monarch from his kingdom. When the

government was at an end and the colony was ruled by the officers of the crown.

No serious opposition seems to have been made to this change. It is recorded that at this time "there were thirty Protestants to one papist in the province."[1] Resistance may have seemed hopeless, and the Roman Catholics themselves may have well feared the political policy, which, while it favored their religion, aimed a blow at their colonial rights. King William, mindful of Lord Baltimore's opposition to his accession, sanctioned the revolution which displaced him, and established for Maryland a royal government, with Sir Lionel Copley at its head. He arrived early in 1692, and the new order of things was ushered in by which the Church of England became in law the established church of Maryland.

Thus, not by the colonists, but by the crown, Protestant ascendency came in. One of the first acts of the Assembly convened by Copley was "An Act for the Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion." The counties were laid out in parishes. A tax of forty pounds of tobacco per poll was laid for the benefit of the church, in the support of a ministry and the building and repairing of churches. The vestries were made bodies corporate to hold property, and were given power to fill all vacancies. For the thirty-one parishes into which the ten counties were divided there seem to have been but three ministers. Encouragement was therefore held out to induce clergymen to emigrate, and it would appear that a motley company of damaged reputations responded to the call. The population now numbered twenty-five thousand. It was much scattered, and the parishes were large in extent, being sometimes from

[1] Chalmers, "Annals," p. 376, note 24.

for them. They together opposed the "forty per poll law." This law was sustained, but it gave a very sparse support to the clergy. The planters paid their tax with poor tobacco, not worth a fourth part as much as the quality which they reserved for themselves; so that, while the law contemplated a living worth a hundred pounds, twenty-five was often as much as the clergyman received. It was of this tax that the Rev. James McSparran wrote his sarcastic description in his "America Dissected": "A competent pension in a cheap country, were not physic dearer than food, and the demands for it (especially about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes) more frequent than the eatables." [1]

The clergy were also disquieted by the fear of the re-establishment of Roman Catholic ascendency, occasioned by the large immigration of Irish and the rumor that Lord Baltimore would be reinstated as governor. They therefore besought the Bishop of Lincoln to send out a commissary empowered to redress the wrongs of the church. This movement was supported by the governor and Assembly, who petitioned the king to annex the judicial to the ecclesiastical function of the commissary whom the Bishop of Lincoln should appoint. This was a movement of the greatest wisdom, and it resulted in the appointment of Dr. Thomas Bray, a man of noble and devoted character, who was drawn to the work by the denials and sacrifices which it involved, and who accepted the appointment with alacrity. Awake to the necessity of securing clergymen of character and intelligence for his missionaries, he spent four years before going out to his field of labor in securing parochial libraries for his clergy; and during his life he established thirty-nine of them in the colonies, some containing over a thousand volumes. He was indefatigable, also, in search-

[1] "History of the Narragansett Church," Appendix, p. 493.

ing for faithful men to take with him, and was able to increase the number of clergymen in Maryland to sixteen. To accomplish these ends he labored incessantly, and in them expended almost his whole earnings, refusing to accept his salary until he should depart for his post. He was, in fact, a very apostle of zeal and devotion, and, like an apostle, met opposition and rebuff on every hand. It was during this period of delay, but not of inaction, that he proposed and started the movement which resulted in the inauguration of two of the most influential societies of the English Church, namely, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The debt of the church in America to the latter is so immense that it may well hold in grateful remembrance the name of its chief founder, while it recalls the fact that the province in which he labored received less aid from the society he inaugurated than almost any of the American colonies. This result was due to the fact that the church, being by law established in Maryland, was supposed capable of taking care of itself. This Establishment and the troubles arising from it was the immediate occasion for the departure of Dr. Bray for America.

The new law of 1696, which superseded all the previous enactments of 1692, 1694, and 1695, had aroused the violent opposition of the Roman Catholics and the Quakers, and, chiefly by the management of the latter, had been annulled by Parliament in 1699. It was deemed expedient by the churchmen of Maryland that the commissary should now come out, and by his presence influence the Assembly to pass such an act as would secure the king's approval. Accordingly, on December 20, 1699, Dr. Bray sailed, himself defraying the expenses of his voyage by disposing of his effects and by resort to his credit. He arrived March

12, 1700, and at once set about the work in hand. Governor Nicholson welcomed him warmly, and, being of one mind in regard to the wisdom of an Establishment, they succeeded in securing the passage, by the unanimous vote of the Assembly, of a law of Establishment as stringent as the English law before the Act of Toleration. It is true that four fifths of the population were now classed as of the English Church, and that the other fifth was largely divided in sentiment and conviction, a good proportion of it being unattached to any religious body, and indifferent. But all the dissenters became one in opposition to a bill which required "every minister or reader in every church or other place of public worship within this province" to use the Book of Common Prayer as established by the English Church. It was the firm opposition to this law which finally deprived the colony of the benefit of the commissary's presence. Fearing its rejection by Parliament, the governor and churchmen of Maryland urged him to return to England to secure official approval of it. After, therefore, only a brief stay in America, Dr. Bray left for England, never to return to the colony, but also never to cease to labor for its welfare. In the meantime, before his departure was contemplated, and immediately after the Act of Establishment was passed by the Assembly, the commissary summoned all the clergy to a convocation, which was held in Annapolis May 23, 1700. Fourteen out of the seventeen clergymen came together, to whom he gave an earnest and solemn charge concerning both doctrine and discipline. In regard to the latter things had come to such a pass that "it was recommended that immediately upon the arrival of any ship in the waters of Maryland the nearest clergyman should make inquiry whether any minister was on board, and, if so, what his demeanor had been upon the voyage." This was with the

view of excluding any clergyman from settlement in any parish if he had been of evil report. At this same convocation Dr. Bray began the first missionary effort in any of the colonies by trying to raise funds for a missionary to the Quakers in the neighboring province of Pennsylvania, encouraged to the undertaking by the conversion to the church of sundry Quakers in Maryland. The attempt came to little, but it showed the spirit of the man. After this convocation the commissary made a visitation of his field of labor. He found some faithful ministers, but more indifferent and lethargic ones. He summoned some to trial, and endeavored to suppress scandalous living. The powers of the commissary in matters of discipline were however, small. The governor, who appointed the incumbents, was jealous of interference with his prerogatives; and the easy-going people were more at ease with an easy-going parson than with one of the strict and devout type of the commissary.

When Dr. Bray left for England after his brief sojourn in Maryland, he had simply given an impulse to a better life of the church, without having been able to rectify many of the abuses which he deplored. On his arrival at home he found the opponents of the colony's Act of Establishment very active and aggressive; and the act as passed was disapproved by the attorney-general. Dr. Bray succeeded in having another bill drawn, which, while establishing the church, extended to Protestant dissenters and Quakers the English Act of Toleration. This was finally approved by Parliament and the colonial authorities, and received the royal assent in 1702. The act provided for the support of ministers of the Establishment by imposing the tax of forty pounds per poll of tobacco, which the sheriffs were directed to collect; and the manner of appointing vestries was decided, together with other matters of ecclesiastical regula

tion. The most signal injustice was done by the act to the Roman Catholics, to whom the benefit of the Act of Toleration was not extended. And so, in the language of Dr. Hawks, "Maryland presented the picture of a province, founded for the sake of freedom of religious opinion by the toil and treasure of Roman Catholics, in which, of all who called themselves Christians, none save Roman Catholics were denied toleration."[1] Such legislation is the sarcasm of history, and in the end it failed to prosper those in whose interests it was enacted.

During the controversy over this matter, and to further the cause of the colony, the commissary printed a memorial which had the effect of arousing public interest. In it he stated that forty missionaries were wanted at once, and declared that the refuse of the clergy in England would not do for American missionaries. They must be young, strong enough to endure privation, learned, able to controvert the endless variety of religious opinions rife among the colonists, and have a true missionary spirit, and ardent zeal for God's glory and the salvation of men's souls. To obtain such men he proposed that each bishop should select some of his own clergy qualified and willing to go, and that each parish of the diocese be asked to contribute fifty pounds annually for the support of each missionary from that diocese. This trumpet-blast aroused the church. The plan failed; but the result was the establishment at last of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Such noble work can one devoted spirit accomplish! But he not only aroused others. Until the day of his death, in 1734, he never ceased to work for the church in Maryland, to contribute to its support, and to seek missionaries for it. He never returned to it, but he did more than all others to forward the interests of religion

[1] Hawks, "Ecclesiastical Contributions," vol. ii., p. 117.

within its communion. Having ample experience of the lamentable results arising from the lack of ecclesiastical authority in the colonial church, he published a memorial on the necessity of an ecclesiastical superior in Maryland, and proposed a plan for his support. He was not responsible for the miscarriage of this scheme, which was frustrated by others. He sought to empower three of the most reputable of the Maryland clergy to act as his representatives in holding visitations and forwarding his purposes, to which plans, however, the clergy would not submit.

Upon receiving intelligence that a most profligate clergyman whom he had driven into Virginia had, during his absence, returned and secured one of the best parishes, possessing one of the largest parochial libraries, he urged the Bishop of London to send another commissary at once; and, as this unworthy minister had been presented and inducted by the governor, Dr. Bray sought to have the induction transferred to the commissary, who otherwise could have no control over the incumbent. With the criminal folly or indifference of the times, the plan was never adopted. The church was looked upon in England too exclusively as an appendage of the state to lead it to strengthen the ecclesiastical and lessen the political authority over it. Colonel Seymour, who succeeded to the position of governor, at this time declared he would have no commissary, and he kept his word. He not only sought to keep his own church in abject submission to himself, but had laws of excessive rigor passed in regard to Roman Catholics, whose priests were permitted to officiate only in private families, and were strictly forbidden to keep school or act in any way as instructors.

Under these circumstances the immoralities of some of the clergy became so glaring that the legislature proceeded to establish an ecclesiastical court. Their spiritual court,

which was to superintend the conduct of the clergy, was to consist of the governor and three laymen, and these were to have the power of suspension from the ministry. The measure was passed by the House of legislature, and only failed to become a law by the veto of the governor, who was a very Gallio in these matters. It roused the clergy to make a remonstrance to the Bishop of London; but the movement came to nothing. The scandals in the church went on. The burden falling on the faithful clergy was made the heavier by the neglect of the unfaithful. One of these faithful ones wrote thus to his bishop: "For four years I have served the whole county of Somerset, consisting of four parishes, so that six congregations are supplied by me. I must travel two hundred miles a month (on horseback), besides my charge in my own parish, which has a church and chapel, and is thirty miles long and sixteen to eighteen wide. I have received by my ministry and perquisites, since October last, but a poor ten shillings." Dissent flourished under this state of things, as was no wonder; and frequent disputes naturally occurred between incumbents and their vestries, so that the progress of ecclesiastical affairs was from bad to worse. Such was the result of the absence of all proper government and the presence of placemen eager for spoils, instead of priests eager for souls. The predominant idea of a state church at home threw its baleful shadow over the spiritual estate of the colonies. There was but a form of godliness, which denied the power thereof. "The Roman Catholics and dissenters looked with contempt upon an Establishment so profligate in some of its members that even the laity sought to purify it, and yet so weak in its discipline that neither clergy nor laity could purge it of offenders." [1]

[1] Maryland MSS.; from archives at Fulham.

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The province now contained (1720) thirty-eight parishes in its twelve counties, fifteen on the eastern shore and twenty-three on the western shore of the Chesapeake. A commissary on each shore visited the churches once in three years. The clergy were assembled annually to consult on the discharge of their ministerial functions; but the commissaries ceased to require the churchwardens to make presentment of offenders, because the failure of the attempt to get legislative recognition of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London had convinced the people that the episcopal authority in Maryland had no well-founded claim. Thus discipline languished; for if the commissary tried an offender, there was no one to punish him if convicted. In fact, the church suffered from the fact of its establishment. It had no discipline of its own, and the ecclesiastical powers in England would not exercise at that distance disciplinary authority.

There were now about ten or eleven thousand church families in the province, and some three thousand communicants, such as they were. Notwithstanding the size of the parishes, some being nine and some seventy miles long, the sacrament was administered once in two months in most churches, and sometimes oftener, and the children were catechised in every parish at some part of the year. A clergyman's stipend was about fifty pounds, which was paid in tobacco.

A premature effort was at this time made to introduce a common-school system into the province, the masters in which were required to be members of the Church of England, of pious and exemplary life, "and capable of teaching well the grammar, good writing, and mathematics, if such can conveniently be got." One of the clergy was to be placed at the head of each board of visitors. The sparseness of the population, scattered over the immense parishes,

extinction of a church established by law, while no man could have found in the legislation of the country a statute expressly depriving it of its character as an establishment. Its downfall might have been traced in the side issues of an indirect legislation that from time to time assailed it."[1] When the clergy, in response to the appeal of the Episcopalians of the North, joined in a concerted action for an American episcopate, the governor informed them "that the livings in Maryland were all donations, or subject to the visitation and regulation of the patron alone, and therefore they stood in no need of episcopal supervision." This was the last meeting of the clergy for concerted action, Governor Eden, by command of the proprietor, issuing a mandate that they should convene no more.

As the time of the Revolution approached, political sentiment mingled with and intensified the hostility of the people to the Established Church. In 1770 the act of 1763, regulating the income of the clergy, expired. The legislature, by the disagreement of the two Houses, failed to reënact it. It had regulated the fees of all State officers; and Governor Eden, in the absence of legislation, resolved to regulate them by proclamation. In 1771 the Lower House denounced the proclamation as illegal, and asserted the right of taxation to be in the Assembly alone. The excitement was universal and intense, and in the end the people triumphed. As regards the church, when the act of 1763 lapsed, through failure to reënact it, the old act of 1702, by which the church was established, became the only statute regulating the assessment for the clergy. It increased the salaries of the clergy one fourth, for it restored the "forty per poll" tax of tobacco, in place of the "thirty per poll," as enacted by the law of 1763. The clergy were prompt to assert their claim; the people as

[1] Hawks, "Ecclesiastical Contributions," vol. ii., p. 247.

'ed his high estimation
) a warm friend of Seabury and White,
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e of the worthy men who stood by the
ed her ministry when the faults of both
had made her very name unpalatable to
essays of Boucher during the controversy
et were very able; and his calm tone of
ther with his fair consideration of both
, caused them to be regarded as just and
the spirit of the people, stirred with the
he coming Revolution, was not greatly in-
em. Lawsuits abounded, and the claims of
e often rejected by the courts. In 1773 the
e Vestry Act was compromised. An act wa
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Declaration also affirmed that all persons professing the Christian religion were equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty. It had, however, prohibited all general assessments by vestries for the support of ministers, but reserved for the legislature the right to impose, at its discretion, "a common and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion in general," allowing each taxpayer to designate the denomination to whose support his contribution should be applied. In accordance with this provision a number of vestries in 1782 gave notice of their purpose to petition the legislature to make a general provision for the support of Christianity. The movement, however, was premature, and was not consummated. In the anomalous condition of the Episcopal Church, disestablished virtually, and without any governing power, even of the State, an attempt was actually made during the war, by the legislature, to organize it by appointing ordainers to the ministry. The movement was frustrated chiefly by Rev. Samuel Keene, who hastened to Annapolis, and by his exertions gave it its quietus.

We here end the account of the colonial church in Maryland, as its subsequent history forms part of the effort for its resuscitation as an independent American ecclesiastical

CHAPTER IV.

.ONIAL CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND, OUTSIDE OF CONNECTICUT.

ſLY speaking, there is no history of the Episcopal ı New England before the beginning of the eigh- ntury, and scarcely any before the middle of that The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel n Parts was essentially its founder, so far as its ties were concerned, and that society was in- d in 1701. Previous to the exertions of this ndividual Episcopal clergymen were found in the olonies, and isolated, feeble, and unsuccessful were made from time to time to establish church ts. They all gave way before the overwhelm- of Puritan emigration. One characteristic of all England Puritan settlements, which distinguished ntially from those of the colony in Virginia, was inhabitants dwelt together in towns. The climate oil tended to produce this result, but equally the interest of the people in religion and the nature ecclesiastical system. The town was an organiza-

ratists, and not merely nonconforming members of the Church of England, as were the Puritans who followed, they had from time to time individual churchmen resident among them. The Rev. John Lyford, a minister of the Establishment, came over in 1624, sent by merchants of the New England Company. He does not seem to have been a very stable, or at times a very reputable, character, and, as Bradford expresses it, "will goe minister the sacraments by his Episcopal calling."[1] There was no disposition to countenance a schism in the colony, and Lyford was banished. Nevertheless Plymouth Colony in general avoided harsh measures in dealing with theological malcontents, and even served as an asylum for persons whose tenets and practices made them uncomfortable in the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The rapid growth of this colony is shown in the fact that twenty years after the landing of the Pilgrims it contained eight towns and a population of twenty-five hundred; and thirty years after that, in 1671, there were fifty towns and eight thousand people; and in this large community there was no trace of Episcopal institutions or influence.

In 1622 Thomas Morton came over with thirty followers and established himself at Passonagesset, a hill in the present town of Quincy. He led the life of a burly English squire, sportsmanlike and free; erected May-poles and celebrated Christmas with feasting and jollity, and maintained the character of a stout churchman more addicted to the feasts than the fasts of the church. His mode of life was a social scandal, and was exceedingly obnoxious to the general sentiment of the early settlers. Plymouth suffered it, but not the colony of Massachusetts Bay, after they became established. Endicott of Salem caused

[1] Bradford, "Plymouth Plantation."

Boston. Thus in 1629 the region of modern Boston had individual members of the Church of England present in its several parts. Maverick, indeed, was a strong churchman; but Blaxton does not seem to have been so strong, judging from his own expression when, on declining to become a member of the Puritan church, he said, "I have come from England because I did not like the lord bishops; but I cannot join with you because I would not be under the lord brethren." He welcomed Winthrop when he came over from Charlestown and settled on the present site of Boston, and he seems to have lived in very tolerable harmony with the authorities and people of the colony. As these grew more and more numerous the spirit of the recluse bade him to move away from them. His land and orchards were sold to the authorities for a hundred and fifty dollars; and he moved into Rhode Island, living, as was said of him, "near to Master Williams, but far from his opinions." His removal seems to have quickened his ecclesiastical zeal, for he is reported to have officiated not unfrequently in Providence.

In March, 1628, the council of New England made a grant of land to John Endicott and others. After crossing the ocean with a small company of about fifty or sixty persons, he took the place of Conant as head of the settlement at Naumkeag, which then received the name of Salem, as a memorial for the pacifying of the differences between Conant's people and the newcomers. Nothing was said in this grant on the subject of religious liberty, and the authorities were allowed to send home persons disaffected with their government. In the spring of 1629 Endicott's settlement was reinforced by over four hundred fresh emigrants, a part of whom settled at Charlestown. Here the first Congregational church was formed, after the Separatists' model. Among the newcomers, two brothers,

John and Samuel Brown, members of the council not approve this ecclesiastical action, and proposed to meetings by themselves, using the Book of Com Prayer. It was, however, not intended to establ colony where divers forms of faith and modes of wo should subsist side by side. The founders had no id admitting the principle of toleration; and these two bro were sent back to England, on the return of the ve the same year. "It may be," says Gardiner, "tha rulers of the little community were wise in their resolu Their own religious liberty would have been in dan a population had grown up around them ready to o helping hand to any repressive measures of the home ernment. . . . The intellectual perception of the val toleration had not yet dawned upon the world. The p lem, as it presented itself to the men of that gener was not whether they were to tolerate others, but wh they were to give to others the opportunity of bein tolerant to themselves. Each party looked upon the as something to be repressed and extirpated. The Pu demanded exact conformity with his doctrine; Lau manded exact conformity with his practice. Each regarded itself as standing on the defensive."[1]

It is clear that Episcopal churchmen could stand poor chance for the exercise of their religious convic in communities constituted as were the early colon

and dangerous, and suggested to Winthrop that "instead of putinge it to the presse, as hee desireth, it may rather be putt into the fire, as I desire." Lechford himself owned that he meddled too much with controversies concerning matters of church government and the like, and he found it expedient to return to England.

It was in 1622 that Gorges, in connection with John Mason, obtained a grant of territory between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, extending to the river of Canada which they called Laconia. Settlements were made at Portsmouth and Dover; and Conant, Lyford, and Oldham, who had become discontented at Plymouth, joined them, and constituted here a church settlement. There was a clergyman of the church connected with these early settlements in New Hampshire, and a chapel and parsonage existed in Portsmouth in 1640. Mason, a devout and earnest churchman, had sent over communion-plate and service-books, but the parsonage house and chapel had been erected as a free gift by the inhabitants. Mr. Richard Gibson was the first parson in the parsonage. The settlements passed under the authority of Massachusetts in 1641. Mr. Gibson wrote an open letter, opposing the title of Massachusetts to these parts. He was brought to book for this conduct, and, acknowledging his fault, was discharged without fine or punishment, on condition of his departing from the country in a few days. He was a good scholar and highly esteemed as a gospel minister, and had probably come as early as 1636, at which time Sir Fernando Gorges, by authority of a royal grant, organized the first government within the limits of the present State of Maine. This grant provided for the establishment of the Church of England, and gave to the patentee the nomination of the ministers of all churches and chapels which might

Rev. Robert Jordan, so far as the work in Maine was

bodies by the Puritans, especially of the members of the English Church, finds its explanation in the circumstances out of which their special movement arose. Before the Reformation the religious sympathies of men had been divorced, by reason of the corruption of those in authority, from that external organization which had been framed especially to foster them.[1] Outward institutions, which were intended to be signs and means of Christ's presence to the soul, were put in the place of Him; and the organization intended to quicken and direct men's souls was changed into a set of lifeless observances. When, through the influence of Wycliffe, men learned that they had souls for which they must themselves care, they began to feel the need of personal religion. At the outbreak of the Reformation this ferment for individual reformation spread through the nation. The need of support and sympathy, for which the church, as the communion of saints, provides, was forgotten in the first fever-heat which waited upon the discovery of individual responsibility and personal salvation. The party in the Reformed English Church who especially emphasized individual religion became known as Puritans. "The Puritan founders of Massachusetts had at home belonged to the Established Church. Their ministers were Episcopalians until the policy of Laud was brought to bear against them. They believed firmly in a union of church and state, and in the suppression of all schisms, provided theirs were the church, and that the suppression of schism were trusted to their hands."[2] They strove for their especial tenets with the earnestness of men who felt that they had a great reality at stake. The old feeling of hostility to Rome was awakened toward the

[1] See Wilberforce, "History of the American Church," chap. iii., pp. 45–50, from which the above is largely quoted.

[2] Douglas Campbell, "The Puritan in Holland, England, and America," vol. ii., p. 413.

Established Church. There was no idea or true con
hension of toleration in the mind of any party in the ch
The Puritans were forced by Queen Elizabeth to be pr
at their parish church. The Parliament under Cro
sentenced to one year's imprisonment any one who fo
third time made use publicly or privately of the Bo

a purer form of worship within the church, the abolition of what they regarded as superstitious usages, and the awakening of the clergy to a more earnest religious life and teaching. Their speedy lapse into a different form of church government and different methods of worship from the Established Church has led to the implication of insincerity in the foregoing expressions of attachment and loyalty to her. But it must in justice be remembered that to them the chief notes of the church were not the form of ecclesiastical organization nor the structure of the liturgy. They were the body of doctrine and the maintenance of the truth and life of the gospel. They emphasized the theological and religious elements, which in their eyes comprised the essence of its life, and claimed that the form of church government was a matter of indifference and could be lawfully regulated by the state. Therefore, according to their ideas, they were not departing from the essence of the church by departing from its outer forms of government and worship while they clung to the substance of its doctrine and the religious aim of its organization. When once they had begun their own ecclesiastical life and worship under simpler forms than those which were associated with the oppression which they had suffered, and to escape which they emigrated from the mother-country, they were firm in their determination to resist any encroachment on their rights, and to discourage the presence of those who might revive the old proscription. This is the explanation of their treatment of individuals which we have sketched; and this is also the reason why the life of the Episcopal Church did not really begin in New England until after the charter of the colony had been abrogated and Massachusetts became a royal province.

It was in May, 1686, that the frigate "Rose," bringing

ident of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, an
king's provinces, brought also the Rev. Robert
cliffe, M.A., who had been appointed to inaugurat
services of the Episcopal Church in Boston. Immedi
after his arrival he preached in the town house, and
Common Prayer in his surplice, attracting by the no
a large audience. A month after his arrival, on the
of June, "the members of the Church of England,
law established," assembled for organization. Pro
was made for the minister's salary, which was fixed at
pounds per annum, and for the constant conduct of d
worship. The setting up of this church was conside
great affront by followers of the Standing Order.
resisted all attempts to appropriate one of the three B
churches for the use of the Church of England,
found itself possessed of no exclusive rights and privi
here. A considerable number were, however, attach
it, and as many as four hundred were said to be
frequenters of the church.

The advent of Sir Edmund Andros, December 20,
as the first royal governor of the province, gave a s
what different aspect to affairs. An application for th
of one of the meeting-houses for the church, at a time
it would not interfere with the rights of the original
prietors, was resisted by the ministers of the town,
among whom were the Rev. Thomas Allen of the

difficulties continued from time to time until the first King's Chapel was erected on the site which the present edifice now occupies. This church was begun in the latter part of 1688, and was erected by the gifts of a hundred subscribers. Before it could be occupied the news of the landing of William of Orange at Torbay arrived, about Easter, 1689. This was the occasion of a revolt against Andros. The royal authority was overthrown, and the church suffered with the crown. Ratcliffe, the rector, escaped imprisonment, though he was sent to England. He returned, however, and opened King's Chapel, for the first time, June 30, 1689, his successor, the Rev. Samuel Miles, being present with him.

In the midst of the excitement attending Andros's administration, Increase Mather published a pamphlet entitled "The Unlawfulness of Common Prayer Worship," in which he asserted that it was apostasy, in this age of light, to countenance or comply with the Common Prayer Book; and the Puritan preachers generally denounced the great sin of formalism in Christian worship. The church, however, was finished and furnished thoroughly. In 1696 the rector returned from England, bringing much communion-plate and other handsome furnishings for the church as a present from the king and queen. It was in 1698–99 that the Rev. Christopher Bridge became an assistant minister of the chapel. And thus the close of the seventeenth century found the church firmly established in New England's capital.

The beginning of the eighteenth century marks a new era in the history of the Episcopal Church throughout all the provinces; for it was now that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (which held its first meeting at Lambeth Palace on the 27th of June, 1701) began its exertions, so numerous, so generous, and

The clergy of King's Chapel, the Rev. Messrs. Miles and Bridge, welcomed these three brethren heartily; and Keith, true to his old character, at once preached a sermon on the claims of the English Church, which involved him in a speedy controversy with Dr. Increase Mather. Gordon died soon after his arrival in Boston; and Keith and Talbot together began in July their missionary exploration, which occupied two years. They visited the coasts of New England, and the Puritan ministers gave countenance to their assaults upon Quakerism. In Rhode Island, where so many Quakers resided, they proclaimed with great vigor the faith of the Church of England. They were countenanced in Connecticut by Saltonstall and other distinguished Puritan ministers, who were equally opposed to Quakers with themselves. They traversed Long Island, visited New York, labored in New Jersey, especially at Burlington, at which place, as everywhere in New Jersey, they received marked attention from the leading officers of the crown. They visited Philadelphia, where they were heartily welcomed by late converts from Quakerism; and the clergy of New York assembled to meet them, and drew up an account of the state of the church in Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, and New York. Keith was also especially busy in Philadelphia and the towns of Pennsylvania, and also in Delaware; and he and Talbot were entertained by Colonel Nicholson, governor of Virginia, at Williamsburg. They penetrated into North Carolina, and afterward proceeded to Maryland, whence, after spending several weeks, they returned to Philadelphia. Many converts were made during these journeys. Talbot was appointed to the charge of the church in Burlington; and Keith, after revisiting Maryland and Virginia, returned to England. He published a "Journal of Travels from New-

in part abroad, and on returning to his native land became the most noted controversialist on the side of the church in his day. To his learning he added the endowments of wit and humor to a great degree. He began his controversial writings by a tract concerning election and predestination. But what called him into special prominence was the publication of an edition of Leslie's "Short Method with Deists," to which was added "A Discourse Concerning Episcopacy," also by Leslie, with certain comments by Checkley, applying the arguments especially to the case of the New England Independents. The reflections upon the orders of New England ministers and the validity of their sacraments were very distinct and very severe, and constituted the most pungent attack which had been made on the ecclesiastical authority of the Puritan colony. This publication produced a most profound sensation. It was universally discussed, and was proceeded against as a scandalous libel, "not only reflecting on the ministers of the gospel established in this province, and denouncing their sacred function and the holy ordinations of religion as administered by them, but also sundry vile insinuations against his Majesty's rightful and lawful authority and the constitution of the government of Great Britain." The judges, however, declared from the bench that Checkley was not to be tried for writing anything in defense of England and the Episcopacy; and the attorney-general was ordered to confine his attention to the clauses of the book supposed to reflect on the government.

Checkley was condemned; but on appeal he spoke in his own defense, in which he maintained, first, that no provincial assembly could by right or in fact establish

by the just and true construction of the laws of that
province, the Church of England was established t
and third, that, by the laws of England, the Chur
England was established in New England, and no othe
positively established in all his Majesty's plantations.
previous excitement was immensely intensified by a s
unlike any ever previously made to a New England
ence. The jury ordered the conditional verdict tha
this book be a false and scandalous libel, then we fin
said Checkley guilty of all and every part of the in
ment (excepting the political part of it); but if th
book containing the 'Discourse Concerning Episco
be not a false and scandalous libel, then we find hin
guilty." The justices did not share the doubts of the
and condemned Checkley as guilty of publishing and
ing a false and scandalous libel, and sentenced hi
pay the sum of a hundred pounds. Checkley was
means silenced by this finding. He at once publishe
pamphlets, one called "A Modest Proof of the Orde
Government Settled by Christ and His Apostles i
Church"; the other, an octavo of sixteen pages, en
"A Discourse Showing who is a True Pastor o
Church of Christ."[1]

Even the assistant rector of King's Chapel, Rev. I
Harris, was angry at Checkley's mode of disputation
sought to prejudice the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) a

lications gave rise to many answering pamphlets by the Congregational clergy. Foxcroft, minister of the First Church; Wigglesworth, a Cambridge divinity professor; Dickinson, afterward first president of the College of New Jersey; Prince, a fellow of Harvard; and Walter, a personal friend of Checkley, all published defenses of their ecclesiastical position. Checkley replied with vigor, and became the most conspicuous churchman in New England of his kind. He applied a second time, in 1728, for orders in England, but was again repulsed; at last, in 1739, on a third visit abroad, he was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter, at the age of fifty-nine. He was appointed to St. John's Mission, Providence, where he labored for fourteen years for the negroes and Indians, as well as for his immediate charge. Here he died at the age of seventy-four, and is buried beneath the present edifice, which has replaced his humble chapel, though his grave is unmarked.

In the midst of this controversy the Episcopal Church continued to increase in Boston. On the 15th of April, 1723, the corner-stone of Christ Church was laid, and on the 20th of December, the same year, it was opened for worship. It still stands, the oldest house of worship, and next to the oldest public building, in the city. It is a fine old edifice, near to the historic cemetery of Copps Hill, at the North End, now a mere missionary district, but for many years the court end of the town. The brick walls of the church are two feet and a half thick; its spire is a hundred and seventy-five feet high; and from its steeple the lanterns were displayed which guided Paul Revere in his ride, on the night of the 18th of April, 1775, from Boston to Concord. Its first rector was Dr. Timothy Cutler, who had been converted to Episcopacy while rector

the church steeple, announced the beginning of the Revolution.

In the meantime, in 1735, Trinity Church, much larger than Christ Church, had been built in Boston. This church did not receive aid from the Venerable Society (S. P. G.). The proprietors of the pews were patrons and owners of the living, and elected their clergymen and presented them to the Bishop of London for their ordination. The church has been associated with many of the most distinguished names in Boston. The Rev. Roger Price, rector of King's Chapel and commissary of the Bishop of London, laid the corner-stone, and held the first services in the completed structure August 15, 1735, Governor Belcher being present. Mr. Price here established the fund for the Price Lectures, which have been held annually ever since. Rev. Addington Davenport was the first rector, and was inducted into the rectorship in 1740. Peter Faneuil gave a hundred pounds to the church toward the purchase of an organ; and Governor Shirley presented the communion-plate, prayer-books, and other articles. In 1763 the heirs of Mr. Thomas Greene established the Greene Foundation, giving five hundred pounds sterling for the purpose of securing the services of an assistant minister; and other individuals in the parish contributed a like sum. On this foundation many of the distinguished clergymen associated with the parish have been settled as assistants. Among them we may mention Dr. Parker, who afterward became bishop of the diocese; Dr. Gardiner, who afterward became rector, a man of great and general literary attainments; Rev. George Washington Doane, afterward Bishop of New Jersey; Rev. John Henry Hopkins, first Bishop of Vermont; Dr. Jonathan M. Wainwright, who became Provisional Bishop of New York; Rev. Manton Eastburn, who, on being elected Bishop of Massachusetts, became the

ent Bishop of New York; and Rev. Phillips Brooks, after a rectorship of twenty years, was elected bish the diocese. During the War of the Revolution ser were held in Trinity Church, it being voted by the v that "Mr. Parker, the present minister, be desired to tinue officiating in the said church, and that he b quested to omit that part of the liturgy of the church relates to the king." After the war and the secessi King's Chapel, Trinity became the principal church i city. Thus at the beginning of the Revolution there three Episcopal churches in Boston.

Christ Church, Cambridge, was established in though the church was not opened until October, Its position was of importance for the church, being i immediate neighborhood of Harvard College. It w stately building for the time, though not large, and erected by Peter Harrison, the architect of the Red Library, Newport, of King's Chapel, Boston, and of C Church. Mr. Apthorp was the rector, a man of di guished abilities, extensive learning, and fine chara He defended in print the proceedings of the Societ the Propagation of the Gospel in founding these mis ary churches, which met with a sharp reply from Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., pastor of the West Ch Boston. To this the Archbishop of Canterbury publi

"palace of one of the humble successors of the apostles." Though Mr. Apthorp remained in Europe, the church was supplied with services by the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) until the breaking out of the War of the Revolution, when it was occupied, as were also the college buildings and many of the principal residences of Cambridge, as barracks for the troops. On Mrs. Washington's arrival in Cambridge, however, in December, 1775, a service, at her request, was held in the church on the last day of the year. From that time on, for fifteen years, the building remained neglected, deserted, and dilapidated. It was not opened again for worship until 1790. It was repaired and placed in its present condition in the year 1825. In the long course of its history it has had as rectors, assistants, or lay readers many who have become prominent in the history of the church. Among those who have been connected with it who have become bishops we may note specially Dehon of South Carolina, Wainwright of New York, Vail of Kansas, Howe of central Pennsylvania, Williams of Connecticut, and Southgate, missionary bishop to Turkey. Everywhere save in Boston the church languished during the war, and at the close of the Revolution there were but four Episcopal ministers in Massachusetts and only six in all New England.

Rhode Island.

The Episcopal Church was established first in Rhode Island at Newport, in 1698. It was through the instrumentality of Sir Francis Nicholson, who had been lieutenant-governor of New York under Sir Edmund Andros, afterward governor of Virginia, and who was at that time governor of Maryland. In 1702 Trinity Church was begun there, and the church edifice erected. The Earl of

in 1731, he sent as a gift to the church the organ which is still to be seen there, with its gilded crown flanked by two miters. One of his children is buried in the churchyard. Mr. Honeyman continued in office for nearly fifty years, dying of extreme old age in 1750. The Venerable Society (S. P. G.) continued its support without abatement until 1752, when a reduction of twenty pounds was made in the stipend. Newport at this time was one of the richest and most flourishing towns on the seacoast, and the reduction was justifiable. It was not until a year or two before the Revolution that the society withdrew its support altogether.

On the opposite side of the bay, on the Narragansett shore, many respectable and wealthy families had taken up their abode as early as 1670, and in 1707 what is now known as St. Paul's Church, Kingston, but which was long known as the Narragansett Church, was erected. It is supposed to be the oldest Episcopal church still standing in the northern part of the United States. It was removed five miles south, to its present position, in the year 1800. Occasional services are held in the old building still. It is carefully protected from decay; and no changes have been made in it, except that the chancel, formerly on the east side, has been removed to the north. The original burying-ground on the old site of the church is still preserved, and in it are buried several distinguished clergymen who officiated from time to time. Among them were Dr. McSparran, who became rector in 1721, and was the most conspicuous clergyman sent to Rhode Island by the society in England, and who was the author of a work on the colonies entitled "America Dissected"; also the Rev. Mr. Fayerweather, a graduate of Harvard, who succeeded

arrayed in the brilliant costumes of their times, and much state and ceremony was observed in the seating of the congregation and in the conduct of the worship.

There were no carriages of any consequence owned in Narragansett. The narrow roads were little fitted for their use; so that almost everybody came to church on horseback, the ladies riding on pillions behind the gentlemen. The choir sang one of the metrical psalms of Tate and Brady, chanting being as yet unknown, and somewhat dreaded, as having a flavor of popery. The minister, ascending the high pulpit, preached in a black gown and bands, wearing silk gloves. The congregation presented a great contrast in its attire to the drab and brown so prevalent in the assemblies of the Quakers, who were the prevailing sect in the colony. Gay cavaliers in scarlet coats would be seated by richly dressed ladies such as we see portrayed on the canvases of Smibert and Copley. The negro servants would be massed in the galleries, and the whole appearance of things was that of an aristocratic community. This state of society, indeed, supported by slavery, produced a habit of festivity and even of dissipation, the natural result of wealth and leisure. At various periods of the year festivities would be held which would sometimes continue for days. At Christmas twelve days were devoted to festive associations. Every gentleman of the State had his circle of connections, friends, and acquaintances, and they were invited from one plantation to another. Servants attended them to open the gates; and the whole community seemed to be given up to social enjoyment. A wedding was a great gala time. At one given about the year 1790 by Nicholas Gardiner there were six hundred guests in attendance. Great sociability

known as King's Chapel, but after 1794 as St. John's Church, was erected in Providence. At that time Providence contained about four thousand persons, among whom was a little band of church people, who, as the record reads, "having resolved to get a minister, and live like Christians, erected their house of worship with some aid from Newport and Boston." The congregation consisted of about a hundred persons, of whom seventeen were communicants. Their first rector, the Rev. George Pigot, remained with them but three years. He was a man of fair scholarship and good character, but was said to have been "of a roving disposition." Their second minister was a disgraceful character, so rare in the records of the New England church clergy, as we gather from the statement that "'tis observable that the last Lord's Day he preached in the church he was, by an extraordinary gust of wind, forced out of the church in the time of service. The next Lord's Day, the people refused his preaching. Afterward he was committed to gaol for his breaking open the door of the church, which his people had fastened up after they had hall[d] him out of the pulpit on the 9th instant for his irregularities." The Rev. John Checkley, having at last obtained orders, as we have previously seen, became rector in 1739. He was a good scholar, a man devoted to missionary work among the Indians, and, as is recorded, "a favorite companion of learned and curious men, though some were offended by his opinions, and others thought him too much of a wag for an intimate acquaintance." The Rev. John Graves, who succeeded him, an excellent man, and highly commended by the Venerable Society (S. P. G.), which supported him, continued to officiate until July, 1776, "when he was pleased to absent himself from duty, though very

could not, as prayers for King George were forbidd
His request to be reinstated at the end of the war
refused.

addressed a letter to the secretary of the Venerable Society (S. P. G.), in which he says: "We have built a church which we have named King's Church, where we intend to obey, serve, and adore God according to the Protestant religion and the Reformation by Edward VI., Cranmer, and the blessed Queen Elizabeth. So we want the whole and entire ministry of a minister, and he shall have employment enough to accomplish his mission." He was a man of the highest character, whose demeanor was marked by the courtesy indicative of his French lineage, and a layman to whom the Episcopal Church in Rhode Island is, perhaps, more indebted than to any other individual. It is recorded of him, "He died in great faith and hope in his Redeemer, and assurance of salvation, and has left a good name among his acquaintances." He died in 1736, and lies buried beneath St. John's Church.

The four churches we have mentioned are the only ones which have survived of those established during the eighteenth century in Rhode Island. They were all supported, to a great extent, by the Venerable Society (S. P. G.), who gave to each of them from sixty to seventy pounds a year. It is computed that to the churches in Rhode Island this society contributed altogether not less than a hundred thousand dollars. The characteristic of the church in Rhode Island during the period previous to the Revolution was that orderly and seemly worship which distinguished it from the more emotional enthusiasm of the Baptists, as well as from the utter absence of form prevalent among the Quakers, by which two bodies it was surrounded. It was not marked by religious enthusiasm, but "it stood sentinel over the proprieties and amenities and moralities of life, and taught the current virtues of good citizenship—honesty, sobriety, thrift, economy, and

ents considerate and kind, and servants truthful and faithful. If it did not apprehend the breadth of Christ's purpose in establishing his kingdom on earth; if the church was regarded rather as an organic structure than as a living power, still it was true to her ministry and order, and ordinances and services; and those services edified and comforted the listeners, regulated and elevated the flow of common life; and the Sundays and holy days made men understand and feel that there is something higher to live for than the greed of gain, or the follies of fashion, or the appetites of the body, or the rewards of ambition. If Christ was not preached in all his fullness, and the power of the cross brought home with earnestness and vigor to the souls of sinners, and believers led along the heights of grace in the pulpit, still the way of salvation was indicated; and many with the liturgy in their hands, pervaded through and through with the truth and spirit of Christ, found peace in believing."[1] It was a period when the standard of religious fervor was generally low, and the number of those who were distinguished for theological learning and effective preaching was comparatively small; but the churches thus maintained became the seed of an after-growth of a far higher and more vital type of Christianity.

New Hampshire.

Ninety years after the suppression of the Episcopal Church in Portsmouth by the Puritans, the church was again introduced in 1732. Many men of character and substance attached to the forms of the Church of England had by this time become residents of Portsmouth and its

[1] Historical discourse by Bishop Clark at the opening of the one-hundredth session of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Rhode Island, June, 1890.

vicinity. They now erected a church, assisted by friends in London; and the queen presented to it several folio prayer-books and a service of plate for the altar, engraved with the royal arms. In token of gratitude for these favors the edifice was called Queen's Chapel, and was opened for divine service in 1734. Mr. Brown, from Providence, took charge of the chapel in 1736; and the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) allowed him sixty pounds a year as missionary at Portsmouth, and fifteen pounds on account of his ministrations at Kittery. At that time Mr. Brown writes to the society that "the town and district of Portsmouth contain between six hundred and seven hundred families, whereof fifty or sixty are of the Church of England, and all the rest Independent, there being neither Quakers, Baptists, Papists, Heathen, nor Infidels. He read prayers every morning, at seven o'clock, from May to September, and preached a weekly lecture to strengthen his flock against the pernicious doctrine of enthusiasts, besides discharging his constant duty on Sundays." In the "Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society [S. P. G.]" it is stated that "the contagion of enthusiasm has spread itself into the government of New Hampshire; but by letters from thence we are informed that the little flock of our fold there hath almost entirely escaped the infection"; and in 1746, "that the tempest of enthusiasm being blown over, great numbers of well-meaning persons who had been affected with it, upon their return to sober thinking, repaired to our communion as the best refuge from those wild principles and practices which had raised such great confusion among them, and that the Church gained ground and reputation throughout these very populous colonies." Mr. Brown ministered not only in Portsmouth; he also made missionary excursions into the neighborhood all about, and gathered many for the church. He employed first

twenty acres each, one share was reserved for a glebe for the Church of England, as by law established; one for the Venerable Society (S. P. G.); and one for the first settled minister. The town was not settled, however, until 1767, when it was occupied by emigrants from Farrington, Conn. They were anxious to have the services of the church, but were unable to obtain a minister. They engaged Mr. Samuel Cole, who had graduated from Yale College in 1731, and had already made some progress in the studies preparatory to taking orders, to act as lay reader, catechist, and schoolmaster. He was a true and faithful man, who did his work well, though it was an humble one. The town was a hundred and forty miles from Portsmouth, and consequently could have no clerical assistance from that parish.

The Rev. Samuel Peters, of Hebron, Conn., was the first Episcopal minister known to have officiated in Claremont. He made a tour as a missionary through the towns along the Connecticut River, in New Hampshire and Vermont, in 1770. He is said to have organized the church in Claremont in 1771, and it was ministered to by the itinerant missionaries of the S. P. G. for New Hampshire; by the Rev. Mr. Badger until he resigned this office in 1774. His successor, Mr. Cossit, fixed his residence in Claremont, and henceforth ministered to the congregation while continuing his missionary labors. The first church was erected in 1773, and during the war the congregation led a most uncomfortable existence. Mr. Cossit was confined to the town as a prisoner after April, 1775; but he writes to the S. P. G.: "I have constantly kept up public services, without any omissions for the King and royal family, and likewise made use of the prayers for the High Court of Parliament and the prayers used in the time of war and tumults. The number of my parishioners and communicants in Clare-

mont are increased, but I have been cruelly distressed fines for refusing entirely to fight against the King sundry places where I used to officiate, the church a dwindled away. Some have fled to the King's arm protection, some are banished, and many are dead."

Until after the Revolution Vermont formed part of Hampshire, and has no separate church history.

Maine.

From the death of Jordan, which we have recorded, 1756, there was no Episcopal clergyman in Maine; b Pemaquid, between 1725 and 1730, there was a perso pointed by the commissioners to read prayers and the Scriptures, and a small brick chapel was built at Pros A number of patriotic Germans having reached Bost 1751, fifty families settled at Frankfort, within the Ke bec Purchase, the Plymouth Company offering then eral terms. In 1754 the people of Frankfort and Ge town applied to the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) missionary. On March 31, 1755, Rev. William Macc ghan was appointed a missionary; but he did not the mission till May, 1756. He was reported dilige

land for holy orders. He reached his post June, 1760, and wrote to the society soon afterward that he found in the county of Lincoln fifteen hundred families scattered over a region of a hundred by sixty miles, with no teacher of any denomination, except a number of illiterate exhorters who rambled about the country. Among the people was a mixture of several languages and religions; but they were pretty constant in attending public worship. Traveling was difficult. He found the work sufficiently large and growing to write for additional missionaries. In 1768 Rev. Mr. Wheeler, who had gone out to England for orders, was appointed, who, after a voyage of ten weeks, reached Boston, and at once went to Georgetown, and was well received. In October, 1769, Mr. Wheeler writes the society: "There are about two hundred families, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists. Preached three Sundays, and erected a church on the west bank of the Kennebec, three miles below Bath." The church, perhaps, was never finished. A church, however, was built in Pownal by Mr. Bailey during 1770, which measured sixty by thirty-two feet, and seated a congregation of from fifty to a hundred and thirty. In 1772 Mr. Wheeler went to Newport, R. I., and

to have started anew the interest of church people; and at last, in 1763, they took action toward building a new house of worship, subscriptions for which ran as high as forty pounds and as low as one pound tenpence. At a meeting of the signers two of them quarreled and fought; and it is recorded, "A foundation for the Church was thus laid, the pillars tremble." However, the Rev. Mr. Wiswall was called from the Congregationalists and sent to England for orders, whence he returned in 1765 with additional promise of support from the S. P. G. The new church, unfinished, was occupied. In 1772 the tax for the support of the Congregational church was remitted. Troubles were rife during the excitement of the war; and Wiswall, obliged to flee, went to Boston, and served as deputy chaplain to two regiments. During the war there were no services in Falmouth. In 1783 a meeting in the interests of the church was held at Mr. Thomas Motley's; and services were conducted by lay readers until 1787, when a new church was built. In 1791 an Episcopal church named St. Paul's was formed in the town of Portland, of which Rev. Joseph Warren, of Gardiner, became minister in 1796.

In 1771 Dr. Gardiner began a church at Gardinerstown, the building of which was interrupted by the war; but it was finished in 1793. It contained three classes of pews. The first class was taxed fourpence a Sunday; the second class, threepence; and the third class, twopence. Dr. Gardiner left to the church a legacy of twenty pounds per annum, ten acres, a parsonage house, and a library. This church, called Christ Church, at Gardiner, and St. Paul's at Portland, were the only two Episcopal churches in Maine when Bishop Griswold became Bishop of the

CHAPTER V.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN C

THE church in Connecticut was vi
supported during the colonial perio
Society for the Propagation of the
Parts. In the earliest history of th
were two jurisdictions, with separate
cils (that of John Winthrop, who cam
a settlement at Windsor; and that of
his associates, who gathered the settl
of New Haven in 1638), there is no e
ence of Episcopacy at all. By or a
of the union of these two jurisdictions
throp became the governor of the u
the charter of Charles II., a petition

cut, in 1665, they carried back a report that "the colony will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments, and using the Common Prayer-Book, provided they hinder not the maintenance of the public minister." This was, however, not a legal provision, and it was not until 1708 that any public worship except that of the religion established by the colonial government became lawful. Even then, those who dissented from the Standing Order were not exempt from taxation for its maintenance. They might worship in their own way, but they must pay to support the way of the colony.

The first movement toward the establishment of an Episcopal church in Connecticut was that of a considerable number of freeholders, inhabitants of the town of Stratford, in Fairfield County, professors of the faith of the Church of England. Nothing, however, seems to have been accomplished before the visit of Keith and Talbot, sent out, as we have seen, by the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) to make a survey of the religious condition of the colonies. The only town which they visited in Connecticut was New London, where they preached in the Congregational church by the invitation of the minister, Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall, who afterward became governor of the colony. Keith reported to the society that Connecticut contained thirty thousand souls and about thirty-three towns, all dissenters, supplied with ministers and a school of their own persuasion.

The real introduction of Episcopacy into Connecticut came by way of New York, and chiefly through the instrumentality of the Hon. Caleb Heathcote, a man of high position in the New York government. The application which had been made in 1702 to the Bishop of London for a missionary at Stratford had not succeeded. Some Connecticut people living near Rye, within the borders

Harvard College, who thought that one colle
tion was enough for the wants of New Engl
however, as the Mathers, thought that they
too liberal tendency of things at Harvard; a
founded in a conservative interest. It was at
rather than a college; but after its removal to
it assumed a position of greater importance.
trouble in the administration, the Rev. Tim
then minister of the Congregational church
was called to the rectorship of the college, at
rarily, and afterward, on account of his excel
tration, permanently. Daniel Brown was app
assistant. These were the only two instru
institution, and the number of students was n
thirty-five. There were some among them, l
afterward became eminent, the most distinguis
was Jonathan Edwards, of whom Sir John Mac
ward spoke as "the Dante and Aquinas of N
who was then a member of the junior class.

Mr. Cutler was a graduate of Harvard in
1701, and was thirty-five years of age, having
nine years in Stratford, Conn. He may ha
appointment in some measure to the fact tha
son-in-law of the Rev. Mr. Andrews, who ha

mirable character. President Stiles, in his diary, dec
that he was an "excellent linguist, a great Hebricia
Orientalist; he had more knowledge of the Arabic
probably any man ever in New England before him, e
President Chauncey and his disciple, the first Mr. That
Dr. Cutler was a logician, geographer, and rhetoricia
the philosophy, metaphysics, and ethics of his da
juvenile education, he was great. He spoke Latin
fluency and dignity, and with great propriety of pron
ation. He was a noble Latin orator. He was of a
manding presence and dignity in government. He
a man of extensive reading in academic sciences, div
and ecclesiastical history. He was of a high, lofty
despotic mien. He made a grand figure as the hea
college." The Rev. John Eliot, who was born in B
in 1754, says in his "Biographical Dictionary":
could never win the rising generation, because he fo
so difficult to be condescending; but his extensive lea
excited esteem and respect where there was nothi
move or hold the affections of the heart." This, how
seems to be too sweeping a criticism, if judged b
expressions of Jonathan Edwards in a letter to his f
while he was a student at Yale, wherein he says:
Cutler is extraordinarily courteous to us, has a very
spirit of government, keeps the school in excellent

"*To the Reverend Mr. Andrews and Woodbridge, and others our Reverend fathers and brethren present in the library of Yale College this 13th of September,* 1722.

"REVEREND GENTLEMEN: Having represented to you the difficulties which we labor under in relation to our continuance out of the visible communion of an Episcopal Church, and a state of seeming opposition thereto, either as private Christians or as officers, and so being insisted on by some of you (after our repeated declinations of it) that we should sum up our case in writing, we do (though with great reluctance, fearing the consequences of it) submit to and comply with it: And signify to you that some of us doubt the validity, and the rest of us are more fully persuaded of the invalidity, of Presbyterian ordination in opposition to Episcopal, and should be heartily thankful to God and man if we may receive from them satisfaction therein; and shall be willing to embrace your good counsels and instructions in relation to this important affair as far as God shall direct and dispose us to do.

"TIMOTHY CUTLER,
"JOHN HART,
"SAMUEL WHITTLESEY
"JARED ELIOT,
"JAMES WETMORE,
"SAMUEL JOHNSON,
"DANIEL BROWN."

These signatures included not only the whole teaching staff of the college, but also the names of five eminent and respected Congregational ministers of the neighborhood. At that date the Church of England had few avowed members in Connecticut, and not a single established congregation. All of these signers, save Cutler, were graduates

were wholly unshaken in their convictions. The college voted to excuse the Rev. Mr. Cutler from all further service as rector of Yale College, and to accept the resignation which Mr. Brown had made as tutor. It was provided also that all future rectors and tutors should, before their appointment was completed, declare to the trustees "their assent to the Confession of Faith owned and consented to at Saybrook, September 9, 1708, and shall particularly give satisfaction to them of the soundness of their faith in opposition to Arminian and prelatical corruptions, or any other of dangerous consequences to the purity and peace of our churches."

The straightforwardness of Mr. Cutler in this action has by some been called in question, because it is asserted that, even when coming to Yale College, his mind was disturbed on this subject. He is said to have declared to Mr. Hollis in London in 1723, "I was never in judgment heartily with the dissenters, but bore it patiently until a favorable opportunity offered. This has opened at Boston, and I now declare publicly what I before believed privately." His wife also is reported to have said that to her knowledge he had for eleven or twelve years been so persuaded, and that therefore he was the more uneasy in performing the acts of his ministry at Stratford, and the more readily accepted the call to a college appointment at New Haven. But, while it was inevitable that his conduct and methods should be aspersed by his contemporaries, there is not the least ground for suspecting the sincerity and genuineness of his convictions. Such a man in such circumstances does not come suddenly, or without cautious reflection and long-continued study, to a decision which reverses the current of his life and changes all his cherished associations. Doubtless he had had earlier doubts; but the

books in the college library confirmed and strengthene
views. No position, not even that of rector of the
Christ Church in Boston, which he immediately acce
could offer him a sphere of usefulness and distinctio
temporal emoluments equal to those which he enjoye
rector of Yale College. The inevitable obloquy atten
on his change would have deterred any one not thorou
convinced of the righteousness of his course. His w
future life showed him to be a man whose decision

his decision was made: "I hoped when I was ordained that I had sufficiently satisfied myself of the validity of Presbyterian ordination under my circumstances, but I have had ever since growing suspicions that it is not right. . . . Oh that I could either gain satisfaction that I may lawfully proceed in the execution of the ministerial function, or that Providence would make my way plain for the obtaining of Episcopal orders! Do thou, O my God, direct my steps, and guide and lead me and my friends in thy way everlasting!" Immediately after the commencement Johnson made another record of his feelings, thus: "It is with great sorrow of heart that I am forced thus by the uneasiness of my conscience to be an occasion of so much uneasiness to my dear friends, my poor people, and, indeed, to the whole colony. O God, I beseech thee, grant that I may not, by an adherence to thy necessary truths and laws, be a stumbling-block or occasion of fall to any soul!"

Cutler, Brown, and Johnson at once set sail for England to receive ordination. It is sad to record that their conversion to the church excited some jealous apprehension in the minds of a few Episcopal clergymen of English birth in New England, lest they should "get the best places in the country, and take the bread from off our trenchers." The Rev. Matthias Plant, of Newbury, declared his readiness to join with the Rev. Henry Harris, assistant at King's Chapel at Boston, to oppose the converts, and addressed the Bishop of London for the purpose of preventing their ordination. Prominent laymen, however, recognized the value of this accession to the Episcopal ministry; and the churchwardens and vestry of Trinity Church, Newport, wrote to the secretary of the Venerable Society that, "upon the whole, it seems highly probable that upon these gen-

ment—depends a grand revolution, if not a general re
from schism in these parts." These three friends wer
ordained by the Bishop of Norwich, in St. Martin's Ch
London, both deacons and priests, in March, 1723. W
a week after their ordination, Brown, who had prea
the day before, was seized with smallpox, that most
disease of the period, which is said to have carried of
fifth of all those who crossed the sea for ordination.
died on Easter even. His two friends, after visiting
ford and Cambridge (both of which universities conf
upon Cutler the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and
Johnson that of Master of Arts), were joined by J
Wetmore, their fellow-signer, who was also ordained.
Cutler and Mr. Johnson sailed for home in July,
Cutler at once assumed charge of Christ Church in Bo
and Johnson proceeded to his mission in Stratford, C
Mr. Wetmore was sent to New York, being subsequ
stationed at Rye, where he died of smallpox in 1760,
a successful ministry of thirty-seven years.

It was from this remarkable beginning that the cl
took vigorous root in Connecticut, though Johnson wa
only one of the three converts who remained in that co
He at once proceeded to Stratford, and by Christmas,
he succeeded in completing the church which he fou
process of building. This was the first edifice fo
Church of England erected in Connecticut. His

now an organization in Stratford, the rector received numerous intimations from various quarters of a desire to have the church planted among them.

Daniel Shelton, a wealthy landed proprietor of Ripton (now Huntington), and a sturdy opponent of the tax for the State Establishment, subscribed largely for a minister in his town, and he was the representative of many who were like-minded elsewhere. There was naturally great repugnance to the introduction of the Episcopal regimen and liturgical worship on the part of those who had hoped for a quiet possession of the region, to which they had come, in great measure, to escape what had been to them the rigorous rule of prelacy at home. Their opposition was strenuous, often more strenuous than scrupulous; but it was an opposition to a system they disliked, not to men whom they discredited either for looseness of doctrine or laxity of life. It was an opposition not to aliens, but to friends and neighbors, children of the soil, whose conversion they deemed perversion. They held that the gospel was already sufficiently ministered to the population; and their opposition to the contributions of the Venerable Society (S. P. G.) for the spread of Episcopacy was grounded in the conviction that they were fostering a needless schism. Of course human passion mingled largely with doctrinal devotion, and the defense of dogmatism was so engrossing as often to overshadow, if not obliterate, the spiritual precepts of the Sermon on the Mount.

The ruling order stood for their rights and the churchmen stood for their liberties. "Traitor" and "bigot" were the fraternal terms by which ecclesiastical combatants saluted each other; and the new Episcopacy was destined to have the full benefit of a sharp discipline. The church in its childhood was not to be spoiled for lack of the rod of the Puritan parent, where it could be legally applied;

possessions of his opponents, and he also understood their lack. His benevolence of temper preserved him from rancor, and his calmness of soul saved him from irritation in controversy. He went steadily on his way, and always elicited respect, even when his principles were denounced. Some of the more strenuous of his Episcopal brethren called him once to account for sending his son to Yale College, because there he must attend extemporaneous prayers offered in the chapel by Congregational ministers. Johnson answered that he was not called to forego the education of his son, in the only place in the colony where he could get it, for attending prayers which, however incomplete, were not injurious, and which only intensified his son's love and preference for the devotions of the Prayer-book.

The relations of Johnson to his alma mater were always those of a filial and devoted son. It was he who, on a last visit to Dean Berkeley, before his departure for England, recommended the college to his friendly notice, "not having any further view than to hope he might send it some good books." The good dean responded liberally to the suggestion. He gave to his clerical friends the books he had brought over with him, and made a donation of all his own works to the college, and, aided by others, sent, after his return home, nearly a thousand volumes to its library. This, according to President Clap's estimate, "constituted the finest collection of books that had then ever been brought at one time to America." It was through Johnson, also, that the dean transmitted a deed conveying to the trustees of the college his Rhode Island farm of ninety-six acres, still in possession of the institution. Out of this broad-minded recognition of the value

church, and thus gave to its infant struggles the support of an educated clergy.

One of the earliest of these learned recruits was Henry Caner, who graduated at Yale in 1724, to whom Johnson became theological instructor for three years, until he went abroad for ordination in 1727. After that he had him appointed missionary in Fairfield, the town adjoining Stratford. Here Caner assiduously ministered, and incorporated a church, the second in the colony, and extended his labors to the neighboring towns, such as Norwalk, Stamford, and Greenwich. Prayer-books and other religious publications were circulated, and the efforts to discover families favorable to the church, wherever they might be, were unremitting. These were found in Newtown, Redding, Ridgefield, and Danbury. Johnson also visited New Haven, New London, and Wethersfield.

Thus the movement spread. A great hindrance to it was the tax levied by the colony for the support of the churches of the Standing Order, which was a heavy addition to the voluntary contributions of churchmen for maintaining their own parishes. In the first five years of Johnson's ministrations in Stratford, eleven church families moved into New York for this sole reason. The wardens and vestrymen of Fairfield memorialized the General Assembly in 1727 to remove this burden; and in consequence a law was enacted permitting the taxes of churchmen to be applied to the minister of the Church of England, if there were one sufficiently near them to permit of their attending his ministrations. Parishioners of the Church of England were also excused from paying taxes for the building of meeting-houses for the churches of the colony. The law, however, was rendered in many cases nugatory by the construction put upon it. "Sufficient nearness" to the church was defined to be a distance within a mile

or two miles. Many of the scattered population were thus deprived of its benefit; and it became a nullity in those towns where there was no Episcopal church or minister.

This occasioned renewed efforts to secure resident missionaries from the Venerable Society (S. P. G.). McSparran, of Narragansett, came over from Rhode Island to give occasional services at New London and Groton; and a spirit of inquiry concerning the Scriptural grounds of difference between Episcopacy and Congregationalism was rife throughout Connecticut as early as 1730. The number of actual churchmen at this period was small. A tendency to a more conciliatory attitude toward Episcopacy was, however, manifest. Johnson writes at this period: "A love to the church gains ground greatly in the college. Several young men that are graduates, and some young ministers, are very uneasy out of the communion of the church, and some of them seem much disposed to come into her service; and those that are best affected to the church are the highest and most studious of any that are educated in the country."

A notable addition was made to the ministry at this time in the accession of Rev. Samuel Seabury, the father of Bishop Seabury, who gave up his charge as stated supply of the Second Ecclesiastical Society of North Groton, and, going to England, was ordained by Bishop Gibson. He was a graduate of Harvard. On his return home he began to officiate at New London, in a church not yet finished, to a congregation of a hundred persons, of whom fourteen were communicants. In less than two years wardens and vestrymen were chosen, and in April, 1732, the third Episcopal parish, with a church building and a resident minister, was established in Connecticut. In view of the subsequent career and influence of his son this was a notable conversion.

lay reader. Johnson, now relieved by various missionaries, extended his own labors as far as Waterbury; and Mr. Caner, of Fairfield, was able to build a new church at Fairfield of far larger proportions and more imposing appearance than the first. By 1736 there were found to be seven hundred Episcopal families in the colony.

It has been deemed best to dwell on these minutiæ of the first ten years of the church's growth in Connecticut, to show the energy and sobriety of the clergy, and the persistent determination of the laity to secure the presence of the Episcopal Church among them. The church's growth, however, was not only the fruit of abundant labor, but also the result of sharp controversy. The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, the celebrated Presbyterian divine of New Jersey, early entered the lists in a remonstrance to a parishioner of Stratford church; and this drew out a rejoinder from Rector Johnson. He was not infrequently hereafter called upon to defend the church of his adoption from various assailants. Mr. Foxcroft, of Boston, made a sharp attack. The Rev. John Graham, of Woodbury, contributed sarcasm and ridicule to the controversy, which caused Mr. Johnson to publish a pamphlet on "Plain Reasons for Conforming to the Church"; and a fusillade of replies and rejoinders followed. Dickinson again published a sermon on "The Vanity of Human Institutions in the Worship of God," in which he charged conformists to the Church of England in the colony with willful schism. Mr. John Beach, the convert at Newtown, replied in a pamphlet called "A Vindication of the Worship of the Church of England"; and a lively conflict of tracts followed between these two. But the more the subject was discussed the greater was the growth of the church. It gained steadily all through the colony, and in the first ten years of its

years. Arnold, the successor of Johnson at West Haven in the Congregational ministry, turned to the church in 1734, and became an itinerant missionary for the colony. The church which he began in West Haven is, with the exception of the one in Brooklyn, the only one now standing which was built in Johnson's lifetime. The position of West Haven was an important one, by reason of its nearness to New Haven and Yale College. The instructors and students who were churchmen went out there to worship on Sunday; and Mr. Arnold endeavored to secure land for a church in New Haven, which attempt was for a while frustrated by the violent opposition of some of the residents. The government was, however, more severe and hostile than the people in general. There was often very friendly intercourse between the missionaries and some of the Congregational ministers; and the common opposition of both to the excesses which came in with Whitefield's visitation tended to draw them nearer together.

It is time to speak of the widespread effects of that marvelous orator and devoted, if erratic, Christian minister of the Church of England, who stirred the whole community of Connecticut, as elsewhere, by his rare gift of eloquence. Before coming to Connecticut in 1740, he had had his career in Georgia, and had visited Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Everywhere his was the voice of the whirlwind and the storm. People came from over twenty miles to hear him. He had proved a power at Harvard College, as well as on Boston Common, where twenty thousand people are said to have assembled to hear his farewell sermon. Everywhere he kindled an intense enthusiasm. Before coming to New Haven he visited Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, and came with his imprimatur to the college town. His relations to the Church of England sat lightly on him. His denunciation of unspirituality was

come mostly a thesaurus for theological speculation. It made very real the relations of the personal soul to the personal God. Crude theology, indeed, followed in its wake, as well as irrational tests of spiritual experience. But henceforth the churches were alive. The faults of the succeeding systems of divinity or methods of administration all had the note of vitality. The revival was a veritable quickening, and the church shared in the general benefit. It was, of course, bitterly denounced, and its ministers were contemptuously referred to as "unconverted." Even Johnson did not escape. The Congregational minister at Stratford, Hezekiah Gold, threatened him with a plain personal admonition as an intruder, and denounced him as a worker of all manner of mischief. This called forth a letter from Johnson as full of manliness as it was of humility; and the effect of it all was to stimulate the church growth. The good rector is reported to have replied humorously to an inquiry concerning his congregation at this time: "Yes, it is increasing. I am a feeble instrument in the hands of God; but, thanks be to him! he has placed my left-handed brother Gold here, who makes six churchmen while I can make one."

This effect was not confined to one locality. New churches were erected where before only a few worshipers had been gathered in private houses, as in Ridgefield, Waterbury, and Ripton (now Huntington). In Plymouth eleven out of the eighteen proprietors of the Congregational church declared for Episcopacy, and took possession of the building where the society had worshiped for the use of the church. The extravagances of the minister, named Todd, accounted for this change. In fine, Johnson wrote to a friend in London concerning this excitement: "It has occasioned such a growth of the church

church, and making apparent, by his exception to the rule, the inestimable advantage Connecticut enjoyed in having a native and not an imported clergy. An unwillingness on the part of the S. P. G. to restrict the original jurisdiction of Mr. Price prevented Johnson's appointment; but the request for it reveals the spirit of confidence and hope to which the church which made it had attained.

The increase in the number of missionaries did not, unfortunately, keep pace with the multiplication of parishes. Caner, who for twenty years had labored faithfully at Fairfield, and who was the most popular church preacher in the colony, removed to Boston and became rector of King's Chapel. The elder Seabury having removed to Long Island, left Mr. Punderson the only church missionary in the eastern part of the colony. Several seceding Congregational ministers, graduates of Yale, were, after ordination, appointed missionaries in other colonies, so that Johnson did not fail to impress upon the Archbishop of Canterbury the great importance of having a resident bishop. He wrote: "I am persuaded at this juncture there are several dissenting teachers who would take orders if they could have them by riding, though it were three or four hundred miles, and would bring all their people with them that are not infatuated with this New Light. An English bishop would be the most effectual means to vastly enlarge the church."

In 1744 a threatened revisitation of Connecticut by Whitefield led the General Association of Congregational Ministers to declare that "it would be by no means advisable for any of their ministers to admit him into their pulpits, or for any of their people to attend his ministrations." At Yale College, also, President Clap and the tutors signed a declaration against his principles. Both these declarations tended to inspire confidence in the order, doctrine, and

worship of the church, which Whitefield had so vigorously denounced, and which had stood aloof from the wild fanaticism of his followers. Concerning New Haven itself, where there was as yet no Episcopal church, Johnson writes about this time: "A love to the church is gaining in the college; and four more, whose names are Allen, Lloyd, Sturgeon, and Chandler, have declared themselves candidates for holy orders; and there seems a very growing disposition toward the church in the town of New Haven, as well as in the college; so that I hope ere long there will be a flourishing church there." This hope was not to be fulfilled until after twenty churches had been built in other parts of the colony. A movement looking to the establishment of the church in New Haven had been made as early as 1735 by the Rev. Jonathan Arnold, who, while in England awaiting ordination, obtained from William Gregson, a descendant of Thomas Gregson, one of the original settlers of New Haven, a deed of a lot of an acre and three quarters, now known as the "glebe property," on the corner of Church and Chapel streets. This was conveyed in trust for the building of a church and parsonage, for the laying out of a churchyard for the poor, and to serve as a glebe for the support of the church. The deed, however, lacked the proper acknowledgment; and the land having been occupied for many years by others, its possession by the church was resisted. In 1752, however, twenty square rods of land were bought for two hundred pounds by Enos Alling and Isaac Doolittle, opposite Gregson's Corner, "for the building of a house for public worship agreeable and according to the Establishment of the Church of England." The title was not completed and confirmed till 1756. Trinity parish having been previously formed, a church of wood was built for it, the door-sill of

which was said to have been large enough to furnish seats for all the men of the Episcopal families in the town.

Johnson was greatly interested in this church, on account of its immediate proximity to the college; and Mr. Punderson, who had been an itinerant missionary, was, at his own request, appointed missionary to the church at New Haven, as well as to Guilford and Bradford, in the neighborhood. This establishment of a church in New Haven was an important advance, and was a decided help to the church in all the surrounding localities. The church would have grown more rapidly could it have obtained more missionaries; but already, several years before the first Trinity Church was built, in 1753, Lamson, Dibden, Fowle, Mansfield, and Camp had been added to the corps of clergy, and churches had been built at Stamford, Strathfield (Bridgeport), Guilford, Norwich, Litchfield, and Middletown. It was now fairly and widely distributed, and the controversies and conflicts, in which from time to time it was necessarily engaged, augmented and strengthened it. It was to meet a sore loss in the removal of its fostering father. Dr. Johnson was called to New York to be first president of King's (now Columbia) College. He had declined the invitation of Franklin to be Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia; but he accepted the appointment in New York for the purpose of forwarding the education of a church clergy free from the restrictions imposed upon them in the colleges of other denominations. These naturally guarded their own interests; and this was sometimes thought to necessitate legislation to restrict the spread of Episcopal churchmanship.

It had been settled that the president of King's College should be in communion with the Church of England, and that the liturgy of the church should be used at morning

worship of the church, which Whitefield had so vigor
denounced, and which had stood aloof from the
fanaticism of his followers. Concerning New Have
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he declares: "I never once tried to proselyte dissenters, nor do I believe any of the other ministers did. So far were we from promoting or taking advantage of any quarrels that happened among themselves that in many instances we obliged them to accommodate matters with their former brethren before we would receive them to our communion." Still no convert was repelled by a cold reception, and aggressive energy was a prominent characteristic of the whole

ened; but that they never were. "Perplexed, but n
despair," was a text they illustrated and understood.
strength lay in their unity and in the dissensions, now
rife, among their adversaries. The intense and bitte
position of the conservatives to the enthusiasts w
hotter and hotter. "They may really thank themsel
wrote Winslow, Johnson's successor at Stratford, "f
small part of the growth of the church, at which the
now so enraged. Their continual disputes and er
dissensions have drawn sensible people and serious pe
to take refuge in our glorious constitution. The inc
the church has received by means of these confusion
been by its obvious superior worth and excellence."

It was now that the great leader of Connecticut ch
men returned to be once more among them. After
to New York he had lost his younger son while se
orders in England; and his second wife was also take
the same dire disease, smallpox. He wearied of the co
duties, which were irksome to a man of sixty-seven
of the publicity and distractions of a city life. He res
the presidency of King's College, and returned to Stra
where, on the retirement of Mr. Winslow to Massachu
he was soon made once more rector of the parish.
old friend Wetmore, who had stood by the first dissen
from Congregationalism in the library of Yale College
died of smallpox at Rye, N. Y., on the border of Con

Archbishop Secker entered the lists, and gave so temperate and clear a statement of the objects and methods of the society as to completely answer Mayhew, who insisted that the society intended to usurp authority over the various Christian communities settled in America. In this rejoinder of the archbishop there occurred a statement intended to quiet the apprehensions of those who, like Mayhew, professed to dread the introduction of bishops as an hierarchical attempt to overthrow religious liberty in America. He said such American bishops, were intended to, "have no converse in the least with any persons who do not profess themselves to be of the Church of England, but may ordain ministers for such as do; may confirm, and take such oversight of the Episcopal clergy as the Bishop of London's commissaries have taken without offense. But it is not in the least desired that they should . . . infringe or diminish any privileges or liberties enjoyed by any of the laity, even of our own communion. This is the only scheme that has been planned for bishops in America; and whoever has heard of any other has been misinformed through mistake or design."

Such, then, was the position of the church in Connecticut up to the passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament (1765). Universal excitement was aroused throughout the colonies in consequence of that act. A general Congress of the colonies now met for the first time in New York; and the eldest son of Dr. Johnson was sent by the Assembly of Connecticut to represent the colony. His father sympathized with the patriots; but the expressions of various missionaries in their communications to the Venerable Society at this time indicated a sympathy with the mother-country which foretold what their course would be in the coming Revolution, not ten years off. The repeal of

undertake the task; and Dr. Chandler, of Elizabethtown, N. J., at his request, and that of many of the clergy of New York and New Jersey, published an "Appeal to the Public," in which he pointed out how needless were alarms at the thought of an American episcopate. Some months after the appearance of the "Appeal," the press of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, inflamed more with political than theological passion, launched their thunders at it. Dr. Chauncy put forth a pamphlet of two hundred pages, entitled "The Appeal to the Public Answered," in which he declared, with heat generated by both political and ecclesiastical passion, "We are fully persuaded, as if they had openly said it, that they have in view nothing short of a complete church hierarchy, . . . with a large revenue for their grand support, and with the assurance of no other privilege to dissenters but that of a bare toleration." This set at liberty a series of lively papers, full of stinging personalities and uncharitable aspersions of motives, in which the old Adam got very much the better of the young Melanchthon. Dr. Chandler, however, published a dignified reply, called "The Appeal Defended," and in 1771 "The Appeal Further Defended," in answer to a previous reply of his adversary. This closed the controversy, which, like most controversies of the kind, kindled a great deal of animosity and probably changed the opinion of no single soul.

When, late in 1766, shortly after the formal addresses of the clergy to the Bishop of London, Dr. Johnson's son, William Samuel Johnson, left for England as a special agent of Connecticut in an important cause before the Lords in Council, he, being a churchman, was regarded with great interest by the authorities of the colony as a source of

might earnestly petition the king to the same er
fear of offending the Independents, who cons
vast majority in the colony, and thus hamperi
projects, effectually prevented parliamentary le
even seriously considering the question.

Notwithstanding the long disappointment of t
the missionaries did not slacken their zeal in t
nance and spread of the church. Candidates c
cross the sea for ordination. Dr. Johnson, in l
being relieved from part of his parish duties
sistant, Mr. Kneeland, kept up a sort of sm
school, training young men for holy orders.
there were seventeen resident missionaries in C

The last new enterprise before the Revoluti
which established the church in Pomfret, in the n
part of the colony, under the patronage and g
sistance of Mr. Godfrey Malborn, who had m
from Newport, R. I. He was a man of wealth, a
to avoid contributing to the town tax for a ne
house, he resolved to spend the amount, an
building an Episcopal church. In the import
New Haven, there was also decided growth, so
dred Episcopal families were gathered there, bes

prominent until after the war. But nowhere was the church so strong as in Fairfield County, the place of its first establishment, where it had had Johnson's more immediate care. There it included a third of the people. In Newtown the church divided equally the population with the Standing Order. Churchmen from Mr. Beach's mission and from other fields had by this time moved into the distant parts of Massachusetts, Vermont and New Hampshire, and were from time to time visited by their former pastors. Thus was the church constantly alert.

And now, before the war should have despoiled the goodly heritage which he had nurtured, the noble Johnson was called home, and the church was left without his sage counsels to direct it in its most momentous crisis. On the morning of the Feast of the Epiphany (1772) he suddenly expired in his chair, having just expressed a wish to die like his friend Bishop Berkeley, who had passed away in the same manner. It was well that he went, for he could not have prevented the calamities of the war, and they would have rent his heart asunder. He was one of the noblest men of his day and generation, firm in his convictions, charitable in his judgments, wise in his counsels, indefatigable in his labors, sincere in his piety, incorruptible in word and deed. He was the heart and soul of the church movement in Connecticut, but he never broke with his old friends of the Standing Order. He honored Yale College and was honored by it. He brought up his son to be one of the distinguished men of the colony while the colony was ruled by those who opposed all his cherished ecclesiastical convictions. He saw with clear vision the needs of the church, and labored assiduously to supply them. Happily he was spared the hour of her disaster; but his influence wrought mightily in her reconstruction when once the time of her deliverance came. No name

deserves more reverent mention in all the annals of the church in America than the name of Samuel Johnson.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the church which Johnson had fostered numbered twenty clergymen and forty churches. All but two or three of these missionaries were natives of the colony. The few English missionaries, with a native, Samuel Peters, of Hebron, at their head, made themselves especially obnoxious to the government, and were either removed from the colony or went their way of themselves. The native clergy mostly remained at their various missons; but all sided with the English government. The war appeared to them as much a cause of the church as of the state. In great measure they drew their support from the Venerable Society; and the oath of allegiance taken at their ordination seemed to bind them to the king no less than to the Archbishop of Canterbury. They were not the sole adherents to the home government. A score of Congregational ministers in New England stood on the same side. Here, as in Massachusetts, the number of loyalists was by no means inconsiderable. When Howe evacuated Boston, the royal fleet took with it eleven hundred loyalists, including eighteen clergymen. From Connecticut there was no such exodus, and loyalist and patriot lived on side by side. But the opposition to the war was far greater than in Massachusetts; and even there the bill sanctioning the war was twice defeated before it was finally passed. Indeed, in the early years of the war, forty thousand Tories enlisted on the king's side; and in its last year, when New York was evacuated, ten thousand left the city. When Inglis, the rector of Trinity Church, reached Nova Scotia in 1783, thirty thousand refugees had preceded him. The Episcopal clergy were thus not exceptionally singular in their attachment to the crown. The exceptional feature was that while other bodies were divided,

Episcopal clergymen at the North were of one heart

bidden to go beyond their respective missions,
sometimes not allowed to visit a parishioner with
of the selectmen of the town. They were in gr
from their inability to draw their salaries from th
able Society; and as they could not pray in publ
king and royal family, as the liturgy prescribed
great danger to property, if not to life, a conve
in New Haven in July, 1776 (after the Declarati
dependence), resolved to suspend public worship.
sequence all the churches in Connecticut, exc
under Mr. Beach, were for a time closed. Here,
a church with clergy suspected and denounced,
ministerial functions quite suspended. Some, aft
like Mr. Tyler, of Norwich, were wise enough to
read the service, omitting the obnoxious prayers,
ing, as in his own words, "that the cause of relig
not to be annihilated on a civil account." In N
1778, his church was reopened. In New Haven
bard took a like course in Trinity Church, an
for "Congress and the free and independent
America." Others, like Mr. Graves, of Norwic
such usage or disusage sacrilege, and after bein
handled in church, "and brought expeditiously t
of the floor" were finally obliged to flee to N

the catechism, thus, as he says, "enjoying one of the two general designs of public religious meetings, public instruction; the other, to wit, public worship, was inadmissible in our circumstances." He, however, had the misfortune to lose both his church and parsonage by the flames of the conflagration kindled by the direction of General Tryon to destroy Fairfield, though it had been designed to save the church property. The church at Norwalk was destroyed in the same manner by the same hands. The church suffered by both its friends and its enemies.

In other places, where the churches were not destroyed, they were defaced and pillaged, as at Danbury by the British, and at Watertown and Litchfield by the patriots. Mr. Beach wrote in 1781 to the secretary of the Venerable Society: "Newtown and Redding are the only parts of New England, I believe, that have refused to comply with the doings of Congress. My two congregations are growing, at Redding being commonly about three hundred, at Newtown six hundred." He died before the war ended, and was spared the triumph of his countrymen. What he did and suffered was for conscience' sake; and the intrepidity of his character commands universal respect, even from those who deplore his mistaken convictions.

The missionaries held on tenaciously to their course through the buffetings of both sides in the contest. As a last touch of misfortune, the church in New London was burned in the conflagration kindled by Benedict Arnold, who had been sent by Sir Henry Clinton to make a diversion which might delay or frustrate Washington's expedition to Yorktown and the capture of Cornwallis. Thus three of the largest churches were destroyed by those whom the clergy favored and upheld, and many churchmen fell in the atrocious and fratricidal massacre at Groton.

When the war closed it found the church "cast down,

but not destroyed. Three of the principal churches had been burned by the British. The missionaries Peters, Graves, and Sayre had fled. Two, Beach and Kneeland, had died. Fourteen, however, were in their parishes, Leaming being still in New York, whither he had gone after the burning of his church at Norwalk by General Tryon. The severance of the tie to the mother-country had cut the bond which joined the missionaries to the Venerable Society, as the charter of that society restricted its contributions to missions within the realm of Great Britain. Hence their salaries were gone, their numbers depleted, and their churches, to some extent, destroyed or dilapidated; and those who remained were in ill favor by reason of their attachment to the losing side. Whatever they had lost, however, they had not lost heart. With indomitable pluck, they prepared to carry on their cause with yet more effective weapons than they had heretofore possessed. Their prompt action looking to the resuscitation of the church, when once hostilities had ceased, belongs to the period not of its colonial history, but of its reconstruction under the auspices of national independence. We therefore close the history of the English Church in Connecticut at this point, when it ceased to be English and began to be American; but not without a tribute to that sturdy steadfastness in the day of its incompleteness which was the sure prophecy of its intrepid advance in the day of its completed organization.

CHAPTER VI.

HE COLONIAL CHURCH IN NEW YORK.

istory of the Church of England in New York gins in 1693, thirty years after the English had the province from the Dutch. In 1609 Henry an English mariner, sailing under the auspices of terdam directors of the Dutch East India Com- covered the island of Manhattan, and ascended on River as far as the present site of Albany. In first real attempts to colonize New Netherland Then a company of Belgian Protestants, called , was sent over, eight of them remaining on n Island, and part ascending the river to the ite of Albany, where they built Fort Orange. nuit, a director of the company, came in 1626 and he island of Manhattan of the natives for twenty- ars. In 1628 Michaelius, a minister of the Re- hurch, arrived, and organized a church with fifty cants; and in 1656 there were four Dutch n in New Netherland sent out by the Classes of am.[1]

7 Peter Stuyvesant became governor: an honest

whipped, imprisoned, and banished Quakers, after Massachusetts fashion. Persecutions only ceased when, in 1663, the company gave Stuyvesant to understand that they must cease.

The character of his administration explains the easy conquest of the country by the English, as well as accounts for the occasion of it. It was due mainly to commercial rivalry. Charles II. had made a grant of the territory lying between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers, comprehending Long Island, to his brother, the Duke of York. The duke determined, in the interests of the Navigation Act, to assert his claims and give England and her American colonies the benefit of free trading with the region held by the Dutch. In the meantime it was known that the commerce of New Netherland had not flourished under the rule of the West India Company, and that the people, comparing their situation with New England, which now contained over one hundred thousand inhabitants to seven thousand in New Netherland, were discontented. When, therefore, in 1663, the Duke of York sent four ships, containing four hundred and fifty regular troops, to take possession, he found an easy prey. Stuyvesant prepared to resist with spirit, but yielded the place at the solicitation of the authorities and clergy of the city, who, together with the officers of the burgher guard, saw that surrender was inevitable. Fort Orange, up the Hudson, and the forts on the Delaware were shortly taken; and the province, as well as New Amsterdam, was henceforth called New York. Albany was the name given to Fort Orange, that being the second title of the duke.

The internal dissensions already mentioned, together with the neglect of the Dutch home government, easily rec-

was no religious establishment; and freedom of rel
was conceded to all professing Christianity, though se
in each parish on Sunday was obligatory. Divine se
according to the English liturgy was allowed to be he
the Dutch church in the fort at New Amsterdam, afte
service of the Reformed Church was over, a courtes
membered and repaid by Trinity Church more th
hundred years afterward, when, in 1779, during the R
lutionary War, it gave the use of St. George's Chap
the Dutch congregation, whose church at that time
taken for a hospital by the king's troops. In making
offer the vestry expressed themselves as "impressed
a grateful remembrance of the former kindness o
members of that ancient church in permitting the u
their church to the members of the Church of Eng
when they had no proper edifice of their own."

The surrender of New York to a Dutch squadro
1673, and its restoration to the English in 1674, cha
some of the ecclesiastical arrangements. Sir Edm
Andros was appointed governor with enlarged pow
and he describes New York in 1678 as containing two
four towns, and adds, "religions of all sorts: one Ch
of England, Quakers and Anabaptists, some Jews
Presbyterians and Independents most numerous and
stantial." He was strenuous in his advocacy of the Eng
Church; but the Assembly passed a charter guarant

of England. "You shall take especial care," he wrote, "that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout the government; the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now established, read each Sunday and holy day, and the blessed sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England." When James was dethroned, and William and Mary were proclaimed, in 1688, an insurrection, or revolution, occurred, headed by Jacob Leslie, which was finally overcome in 1691, when Leslie was executed. This insurrection did not affect the church, save to accentuate the Protestant element, of which Leslie was the devoted adherent.

Colonel Henry Stoughton, who was appointed governor by William and Mary, was directed to give religious liberty to all but Roman Catholics, who, on account of political considerations, were now discredited. He was also instructed to have the Prayer-book read in the colony. It was, however, under Governor Fletcher, who succeeded Stoughton, that the English Church began to grow and was accorded precedence. It was the proposition of Miller, the English chaplain of the fort, that a bishop with attendant clergymen should be sent over from England; but, like all such appeals, this was never acted on. Under Governor Fletcher an attempt was made to secure a quasi-establishment of the church, which succeeded. An act of the Assembly was passed in 1693, providing that in four specified counties, New York, Westchester, Queens, and Richmond, there should be five ministers supported by the county, and that all freeholders should vote in the election of vestrymen and wardens. Governor Fletcher insisted that the act must relate to Episcopal ministers only. The Assembly repudiated this construction of the act, and declared by vote that the vestries might call a "dissenting

it, presumably meant to include other than episcopally

to England for ordination, which he did the follo
spring, and was ordained by the Bishop of Lo

in seven years. Subscriptions were also taken for the purpose; and it is amazing and amusing to note that in but one case did they amount to five pounds, and that they mostly consisted of one or two pounds. A special subscription for the building of the steeple amounted to a little over three hundred and twelve pounds, of which nearly six pounds was contributed by the Jews. It is interesting, in view of the subsequent wealth of the parish, to observe the various means used to collect funds for the church. Some money, amounting to about three hundred pounds, which had been collected for the redemption of Christian slaves taken by the "Sally" from Algeria (which still remained in the public coffers, as the slaves had died or escaped), was obtained from the council for finishing and furnishing the church. His Excellency also granted the wardens a commission for all "Weifts, Wrecks and Drift Whales," for the same purpose. Four hundred pounds was also borrowed, and became a corporation debt. The great endowment of Trinity Church was made in 1705, in the reign of Queen Anne, by a deed patent, signed by Lord Cornbury, then governor, conveying to the corporation the Queen's Farm, a tract of land extending along the river from the present site of St. Paul's Chapel to Christopher Street. It was, of course, at that time wholly unproductive; but it has since been the source from which the Trinity corporation has chiefly derived the revenues for its own extensive and constantly extending parish activities, and for the munificent gifts to such corporations as Columbia (then King's) College, the Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning, and Trinity School, and to such churches as St. Mark's, St. George's, and Grace in the city, and to many other parishes within and without the city which have been founded or generously fostered by the

Southern States or in New England. In the South it was more completely established; but it was there the church of a thoroughly agricultural community, widely scattered, containing a vast slave population, where the parishes were immense in territory, but whose inhabitants were separated by wretched roads and an absence of public conveyances. A landed aristocracy existed, the members of which were greatly isolated; and there were no great centers where they could come frequently together and form a communal life. There could be no concentration of church effort, and discipline was relaxed by distance and the quasi-independence of the rectors. In New England the church was not only in the minority, but was discredited and discountenanced. There it was in fact a dissenting body. It had to fight for existence. The institutions of learning were in the hands of its adversaries. The tone and temper of society were at variance with the doctrinal and ecclesiastical convictions of churchmen. It lived by sufferance, and was an object of suspicion and dread. In New York it stood at the head of a community not inimical beyond the limits of denominational rivalry, when not identified with it; a community where the amenities of social life flourished, and where it received the prestige of royal favor and princely munificence.

The Dutch church in Garden Street, and the Huguenot church in Pine Street, together with Trinity Church, furnished services in the three languages, English, French, and Dutch. There was a population of industrious and prosperous tradesmen of these various nationalities. There was also an aristocracy of vast landed proprietors, the patroons, whose immense estates lay in the neighborhood of the Hudson, but who built fine houses in the city, in which they lived in winter. Here they resided in princely

black. Their entertainments were frequent and splendi
If not of the church, they were not hostile to it; and b
reason of the blind insistence of the Dutch in holding the
services in a foreign language, the sons and daughters
the patroons and the higher classes generally found it mo
agreeable to attend the English service, and drifted slowl
and surely into that communion. Kindly feelings for th
most part existed between the two churches, but the Eng
lish Church was the absorbent. It had the advantag
without the drawbacks of the South. It shared the ente
prise and earnestness of New England, unburdened b
opposition and distrust.

Immediately on the completion of Trinity Church the
began a rapid development of church life. The first buil
ing was a small square edifice, which was enlarged in 178
when it attained the size of a hundred and forty-eight fe
in length and seventy-two feet in breadth, with a steep
a hundred and seventy-five feet in height. The interior
described as being more richly ornamented than any oth
place of public worship. There was an altar-piece in th
chancel. Gilt busts of winged angels crowned the tops
the pillars which upheld the gallery, and two glass chand
liers hung from the ceiling. The side walls were decorate
with the arms of some of the principal benefactors of th
church. A gallery on the south side was erected for th
use of the governor and council. A fine organ stood in th
gallery at the west end.

Mr. Vesey proved a valuable and churchly rector. H
possessed the instincts of a churchman, and called fort
the commendations of Lord Cornbury, the governor, an
Colonel Heathcote, both noted for their ardent church
manship. He was maintained by a tax levied on all th
inhabitants of the city, amounting to a hundred and sixt
pounds; one hundred in perpetuity to the parish, and sixt

added by an act of the Assembly, while Mr. Vesey should remain incumbent. Twenty-six pounds was added by the governor's council for house-rent. Fees, also, for burials and marriages were established by the vestry as his perquisite.

About this time the parish was the recipient of many valuable gifts from various distinguished persons. The Bishop of London presented a bell and sixty pounds, and also "a parcell of books of Divinity." The Bishop of Bristol gave paving-stones; Lord Cornbury, a black-cloth pall, also two Prayer-books, and the beginnings of a library. The benefactions and patronage of such distinguished persons could not fail to influence the temporal condition of the parish. This did not, however, release the rector from the many trials and vexations incident to his situation, and which bore heavily on a man of Mr. Vesey's temperament. The growth of the church under his faithful and painstaking oversight was steady, both from the incoming of English residents and the accession to it of numbers of the Dutch and Huguenot families. The civic and social jealousies of such propagandism at one time seemed to array society in two factions: churchmen headed by the De Lanceys, and Presbyterians led by the Livingstons. In a formative and rapidly growing society such as New York then exhibited, religious differences entered largely into political and social questions. Such local and temporary disagreements, however, grew less and less evident as the various parties grew more and more self-reliant; so that when, in 1780, the Dutch church returned thanks to the vestry of Trinity for the use of St. George's Chapel during the occupation of their own house of worship as a hospital, they spoke of their congregation as those "who have always considered the interests of the two churches as in

evince to posterity the cordial and happy union subsi

gation from persons of all persuasions. He was a beacon-light, also, to the neighboring churchmen of Connecticut, just over the border of the Province, and, accompanied by Colonel Caleb Heathcote, performed the first Episcopal service in Stratford, where he also baptized a number of persons and founded a mission. At New Rochelle, in 1709, the Venerable Society, at the solicitation of the French Protestant church there, adopted their minister, Rev. D. Burdet, instructing him in the liturgy; and the people generally conformed, and provided a new church, a house, and a glebe. At Albany, which was thus early an important center as a chief trading-station with the Indians, and as the garrison post where two or three hundred soldiers were stationed to guard against the ravages of the French and Indians, the Venerable Society, in 1709, appointed the English chaplain at the fort, Rev. T. Barclay, to be its missionary. There were nearly four thousand inhabitants then in the place, mainly Dutch. The Dutch minister at this time had returned to Europe, and Mr. Barclay had the use of the Lutheran church for seven years, and a large number of the Dutch conformed. He was very diligent, also, in instructing the negro slaves. A new church was built for him, and finished in 1716. This was the first building of St. Peter's Church, Albany, where Mr. Barclay remained as rector until 1728. When appointed missionary, he was directed by the society to instruct the neighboring Indians. This he did with assiduity, and in October, 1712, opened a chapel which had been built among the Mohawks, who had received him favorably. He officiated once a month at Schenectady, and often for the Indians lying twenty-four miles west of it. Such progress was made by his unwearied labors among them that in 1712 the S. P. G. sent Rev. William Andrews as a special missionary to the Indians, among whom he made

among whom he had labored like an apostle. He never afterward relaxed his efforts in their behalf. In his last years, about 1762, he was engaged in superintending a new edition of the Indian Prayer-book. This Indian mission was continued by a succession of able missionaries, and as a consequence the Mohawks were the only Indian nation who continued steadfast to the English in all their wars.

Nothing is more praiseworthy, either in the history of the Venerable Society or in the annals of Trinity Church, than the care and attention given to the Indian natives and the negro slaves of New York. During its connection with the province the Venerable Society employed sixteen clergymen and thirteen lay readers for these helpless and ignorant classes. Trinity Church, from the very start, maintained, and persuaded the Venerable Society to maintain, catechists and schoolmasters for the Indians and negroes of the city. Of the slaves there were then about fifteen hundred, and great pains was taken to get hold of them by Mr. Elias Neau. He was a Huguenot who had been imprisoned abroad for his religion, and who, coming to New York as a trader, conformed to the English Church on account of his attachment to the liturgy, part of which he had learned by heart in his dungeon. For a long series of years he labored with great assiduity among the negroes, bringing them to church on Sundays to be catechised by the rector, and instructing them on week-day evenings, the only time when they could be reached by his labors. All this was done in the face of prejudice and scorn, which seem to have been attached to the negro race from the introduction of slaves into the country. He was a catechist of the Venerable Society, whose attention he had called to this field of labor, and a fine type, in that early day, of the devout layman. After his death the Venerable Society appointed others to carry on his work, and the mission

English Prayer-book, asserting that the English Acts of Uniformity were in force in the province. The minister was acquitted, and the principle of religious liberty was sanctioned, though it is doubtful if he ever regained his parsonage.

Thus, in the midst of much admirable earnestness on the part of the clergy and laity, and occasional unjust partisanship on the part of officials, the church grew. The tares and the wheat mingled in the administration of the province, but as a rule dignity and justice prevailed. With such typical and illustrious laymen as Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey and Sir William Johnson (famous for his labors in behalf of the Mohawks), with faithful and devoted missionaries and not less faithful and devoted lay catechists and school-teachers of the poor and despised negroes, and with such able and honorable men as the successive rectors of Trinity parish, the church deserved the success which it achieved.

Trinity Church had been enlarged during the rectorship of Mr. Vesey, in 1737. During the rectorship of Dr. Barclay (who had now received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Oxford University) the rapid growth of the parish made it necessary to erect a chapel of ease to accommodate the augmenting congregation. St. George's Chapel, subsidiary to the parish church, was built in Beekman Street, in the region known as the "Swamp," the present center of the leather-trade, and was opened for service July 1, 1752. It was a large church, with a lofty spire, and the opening service was a sort of civic festival. There was a procession from the City Hall to the chapel, in which the rector, assistant rector, churchwardens, and vestry were accompanied by the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and Common Council of the city, together with the clergy

schoolmaster of the parish, and many prominent citizens. The Charity School thus represented had been founded in 1709, and was jointly supported by the Venerable Society and Trinity corporation. It was the forerunner, or the beginning rather, of the present Trinity School, afterward amply endowed by the parish and by the legacies of various benevolent individuals, among whom, for their early and large benefactions, may be especially mentioned Mr. Alexander Troup and Hon. John Chambers and wife. A donation was also made to it by the State. It was founded to give gratuitous education to poor children, and to instruct them in religion according to the doctrines of the church. In 1826 it was reorganized under the name of the "New York Protestant Episcopal Public School," and classical instruction was added to its curriculum. In 1845 it received its present name of Trinity School.

In the same year with the opening of St. George's Chapel the vestry took measures looking to the founding and building of a college for higher education. Two years later, in 1754, they voted to give from the King's Farm the land on which Columbia College stood for so many years, viz., "from Church Street all the lands between Barclay Street and Murray Street to the water side; upon this condition that the President of the said Colledge forever, for the time being, be a member of and in Communion with the Church of England, and that the morning and evening service in said Colledge be the Liturgy of the said Church, or such a collection of prayers out of said Liturgy as shall be agreed upon by the President, or Trustees or Governours of the said Colledge." In regard to this ecclesiastical condition of the gift of land, the vestry, in a letter asking for aid, wrote to the Venerable Society as follows: "We never insisted on any condition, till we found some persons labouring to exclude all systems of re-

ligion out of the Constitution of the College. When we discovered this design we thought ourselves indispensably obliged to interpose, and have had the countenance of many good men of all denominations, and in particular the ministers of the Foreign Protestant Churches in this city, who are appointed Governors of the College, and who, without the least hesitation, qualified agreeable to the Church and continue hearty friends of it." The society responded with a donation of five hundred pounds. The Assembly voted funds for the building of the college. Provision was made by a succession of lotteries for its support; and Dr. Johnson, the veteran missionary of Connecticut, was elected first president, and began the collegiate course of instruction alone, July 7, 1754, with a class of twelve students. The vestry immediately elected President Johnson an assistant minister of Trinity Church, with a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds, and with nominal duties, to aid him in his support. Although the college soon after became the recipient of gifts and legacies, its revenues are in large part derived from the property conveyed to it in that early day by Trinity parish.

It was about this time, in 1756–57, shortly after the opening of King's College under the presidency of Dr. Johnson, that Rev. Samuel Seabury, Jr., afterward the first Bishop of Connecticut as well as the first in America, was appointed to the parish of Jamaica, L. I. It was a position of difficulty, on account of the nature of the appointment. This was the parish where Lord Cornbury had seized the parsonage of the Presbyterian divine whom he had prosecuted for non-conformity, but who had been acquitted. The county vestry, in which dissenters were in the majority, from a long-cherished feeling of retaliation, on the decease of the incumbent, chose a dissenter for minister of the town, as they maintained the act

of 1693 gave them a right to do. The gover
Charles Hurdy, refused to induct him, and after six
appointed young Seabury to the cure. The fath
Samuel Seabury, was living not far off, in Hempst
there his son had spent his boyhood from the tin
he was thirteen years of age. Knowing the grou
having his experienced father near by for consulta
was deemed the most suitable person for the po
had had only a brief experience of little over two
New Brunswick, N. J., his first parish, but he prove
defatigable and at last a successful rector. He ha
counter not only the opposition of the vestry a
numerous adherents, turbulent with the exciter
disappointment and repulse, but also the grea
prevalent in morals and manners, and the presenc
ligious indifferentism and even open infidelity, w
traced to the Quakers, who were very numerous
place. His encounters with them and their unli
and non-sacramental system, as well as afterward
wilder enthusiasm of Whitefield and his followers
sified his churchmanship and narrowed his syn
toward anything outside the church. This parish
mark upon him as truly as he left his impress on
served it with great faithfulness, and it helped to m
what he was.

The noble Dr. Barclay, the second rector of
Church, died in 1764. In the last year of his li
were a hundred and thirty-seven marriages celeb
the parish, and four hundred and thirty-one ad
children were baptized. In view of such evid
strength and growth, the necessity of a new chape
the parish was felt, and the present St. Paul's Ch
begun in the spring before Dr. Barclay's death, w
curred in August. Dr. Auchmuthy, an assistant

of the parish, was elected successor of Dr. Barclay as rector; and under his auspices St. Paul's Chapel was built, and opened for service the 30th of October, 1766. It stands to-day externally almost the same as it was on its completion, the only relic of old colonial New York now in use. When opened for service, Sir Henry Moore, representing the home government, was present. The building has since been associated with our most distinguished patriots: with Washington, who, after the service of his inauguration as first President of the Republic at the City Hall in Wall Street, attended by the whole company, walked to St. Paul's Chapel, and was there received by Bishop Provoost, who, with suitable religious services, invoked the blessing of God upon the first ruler of the nation; with General Richard Montgomery, who fell before Quebec December, 1775, and whose body was buried here in 1818, forty-three years after his death, Bishop Hobart reading the service; with General Lafayette, who here attended, in 1824, a sacred concert given in his honor. It is much to be regretted that the reverent care with which its fabric and traditions are now guarded by the present rector had not been exercised by his predecessors, who allowed the interior to be greatly altered. It is, however, still a fine specimen of the early colonial style of architecture.

Dr. Auchmuthy had won his preferment to the rectorship by most faithful service as an assistant. He had been especially assiduous in his care and instruction of the negroes, and he commanded the respect of all the congregation, white and black. He continued to serve the parish faithfully until the time of the Revolution. From 1765 he had as an assistant Rev. Charles Inglis, who afterward succeeded him as rector and became first Bishop of Nova Scotia. In 1766 Rev. Samuel Provoost was also made as-

which cannot be confined to the slaughter of the battle-field, but which involves personal opprobrium, private spoliation, individual indignity and loss. The future Bishop Seabury, who by this time had gone to Westchester, was suspected of unpatriotic acts, not without reason, and was seized and carried to New Haven and imprisoned. It is not strange that he should denounce such treatment as an outrage, but it is strange that such outrages should have been thought strange. The passions engendered of civil conflict are not careful of civic etiquette or of just dealing, either. The complaints of Inglis and other strenuous loyalist clergymen are natural, but not more natural than the conduct of which they complained. All honest men must honor the strict adherence to conscience and conviction of the clergy who advocated the royal cause. They thought the cause of independence was the cause of unrighteous rebellion. They firmly believed it could not succeed and did not deserve to. They acted accordingly and suffered accordingly. It was not to be expected, however, that patriots of convictions as undoubted, who took their lives in their hands to secure the liberties of themselves and their posterity, should coolly brook the machinations of men against the cause wherein their homes and their fortunes were imperiled. These were constrained to watch and guard against those enemies whose character carried weight, and whose means of influence were not inconsiderable. We always honor the sufferings of good men in a mistaken cause. It is impossible not to honor the steadfastness and unflinching pluck with which the colonial clergy of the Northern colonies stood for what they deemed the rights of their king and the obligation of their oath. But could they have seen more widely and thought more justly; could their sympathies have been with the people

and sick as was permitted him. When, after the battle of Long Island, General Howe returned to the city with his army, one of the churches was again opened. In the great conflagration which followed almost immediately, and which consumed nearly a third of the city, Trinity Church was destroyed, as well as two hundred houses from which the parish revenues were derived. The rector's residence, the two Charity School houses, the valuable library, and the parish register were all consumed. The loss amounted to over twenty-five thousand pounds. Dr. Auchmuthy returned to New York, and divine service was soon begun in the two chapels remaining to the parish, and was thereafter regularly maintained, as the royal army remained in occupation till the end of the war. The rector, already enfeebled, died shortly after the disasterous fire, in the spring of 1777. He was a good man, who fell on evil times. Dr. Inglis at once succeeded Dr. Auchmuthy in the rectorship. He was inducted into office by Tryon, the royal governor, amid the ruins of the parish church, placing his hand upon the crumbling walls. He had earlier made himself especially obnoxious to the "Sons of Liberty" by his pamphlet in answer to Thomas Paine's "Common Sense." He still continued a mark of patriotic scorn; for, on the occupation of the city by the royal forces, he had drawn up the petition to the king, praying his Majesty to pardon their temporary submission to the rebel forces, and to receive the city and community again under his gracious protection. We may remember as an excuse that Mr. Inglis was an Irishman by birth; but the knowledge of this fact did not increase his popularity at that time. By an irony of fate his property at Kingston on the Hudson was destroyed by British troops in 1777. In 1779 he was [illegible]

government he resigned his office as rector, November 1, 1783, and retired to Nova Scotia, where thirty thousand refugee royalists had already preceded him, and where, after four years, he became the first colonial bishop of the Church of England. He was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia in Lambeth Chapel by the Archbishop of Canterbury, August 12, 1787, just six months after his successor in the rectorship of Trinity Church, Dr. Provoost, had been consecrated first Bishop of New York, in the same place, by the same hands.

Although the rectorship of Dr. Provoost did not occur until after the Revolution, we may well recall the circumstance here, as his was the last election to that office before the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and thus terminate the history of the colonial church in New York.

Immediately on the resignation of Dr. Inglis, and a few days before the evacuation of the city by the British, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, assistant minister, was chosen to be rector. He was not inducted into office until after another election, seventeen years later, in consequence of the proceedings relating to the corporation during the change in the government. To bring the charter of the parish into conformity with the constitution of the State and the political changes which had occurred, an act of the legislature was passed, April 17, 1784; and the vestry appointed by that act disregarded the election of Mr. Moore, and proceeded to elect Rev. Samuel Provoost. This vestry was largely, if not wholly, composed of Whig Episcopalians; and its members, having been obliged to remove from their homes during the war, disputed the validity of any election of vestrymen while the city was in possession of the British. Their position was affirmed by the council of the legislature appointed for the temporary government

of the southern part of the State, and Mr. Moore's election was in consequence disregarded.

The Rev. Samuel Provoost was in great favor with the new vestry by reason of his patriotic sentiments, which had induced him to resign his post as assistant minister in 1770, and retire from the city. He was as ardent a patriot as Dr. Inglis was a loyalist; and soon after his becoming rector of Trinity he was made a regent of the University of the State of New York, and elected chaplain of the Continental Congress when that body, in 1785, removed from Trenton to New York.

This is, however, anticipating the history of the church subsequent to the Revolution. When that epoch-making war began, the church folk in the province of New York were estimated at about one fifteenth of the population. In addition to the strong mother-parish of Trinity Church, with its stately building and its two large chapels, St. George's and St. Paul's, there were also in the province the flourishing church of St. Peter's in Albany, and the small churches at Rye and Westchester on the mainland, at Hempstead and Jamaica on Long Island, and at Richmond on Staten Island. These constituted the formative root of the aftergrowth which we are to trace when once the Protestant Episcopal Church is formed out of the various groups of colonial churches; an ecclesiastical body, national in aim and extent.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY.

THERE is no trace of the church in New Jersey until it became a single province by the union of East and West Jersey under Queen Anne, in 1702. The territory had been given, nearly forty years before, to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret by the Duke of York. When, however, in 1666, Carteret reached New York, he found that settlers had already taken up their residence at what is now Elizabeth, having been confirmed in their possessions by Nicolls, the deputy governor of New York, in ignorance of the Duke of York's gift to the two courtiers. New settlers came in, drawn by the "concessions," present and prospective, issued by the proprietors. They came especially from the New Haven colony, and in 1666 Newark was planted by them. In 1676 the line between East and West Jersey was drawn, being virtually the Delaware River; and by sale and other acts of transference, first West and then East Jersey became the property of William Penn by 1682. This occasioned a large immigration of Quakers into the territory of West Jersey; and a large influx of emigrants from Scotland came into East Jersey, making the Presbyterians strong there.

After the English Revolution of 1688, the connection of New Jersey with New York, which James II. had effected, was broken off. A very disorganized state of affairs existed for ten years, until both provinces were consolidated by Queen Anne into one, under Lord Cornbury, as governor,

in 1702. It was in this year that the two agents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Keith and Talbot, visited New Jersey, where, as yet, no Episcopal church existed.

Colonel Lewis Morris, in 1700, had addressed a memorial to the authorities at home "concerning the state of religion in the Jerseys." He stated that there were in Elizabethtown and Newark some few churchmen, and about twelve communicants all told in the provinces. An old ruinous court-house had been fitted up as a church at Perth Amboy, the capital city, where the Rev. Edward Puttock had officiated, as well as at other outlying places. He suggested measures for advancing the church; and the visit of Keith was in accordance with his wish. Keith preached first at Amboy in October, 1702, and then in many other of the ten towns of East Jersey, and especially in the town hall at Burlington in West Jersey. He created a great impression. The Quakers, whom he had left to take orders in the Church of England, were much incensed; but a number, who like him had become disaffected, gave him a hearty welcome and became adherents of the church.

There is trace of ministrations by Rev. Alexander Inness prior to Keith's coming, and occasional services had from time to time been held at Burlington by visiting clergy from New York and Philadelphia. But now the glow of enthusiasm was such that, aided by the encouragement and earnest sermons of Rev. Evan Evans, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and by the exhortations of Rev. John Talbot, who accompanied Keith, a beginning was made for a church building. Gifts came from Mr. Myles, rector of King's Chapel, Boston, from churchmen in Philadelphia, and from Mr. Robert Wheeler, a merchant of Burlington, and others; and the corner-stone of St. Mary's Church

left America, they journeyed together through ten of the colonial provinces. He would not leave the society's service when Keith returned to England, though he had offers of easier work and a larger stipend. When, after his acceptance of the rectorship of St. Mary's, Burlington, in 1705, his parish of Fetherne was sequestered on account of his non-residence, he became completely identified with the colonial clergy. His labors were incessant, and extended over a wide field. He had a restless temperament, which kept him awake to every call made upon his services. He traveled all over the province of New Jersey, building churches, and earnestly seeking for clergy to work them. His zeal often outran his discretion, for no sufficient supplies came; and several of the churches built in hope were deserted in despair.

The whole aspect of affairs early convinced Talbot of the indispensable necessity for a resident bishop, if the church was to extend itself or develop its real power. Within a year of his settlement at Burlington he journeyed to England as bearer of a memorial to the queen, praying for a suffragan bishop. The mission was, as all such missions were, fruitless; but this did not diminish Talbot's interest in a matter he felt to be so vital, and for twenty years he was instant in season and out of season, urging it. On his return in 1708, he preached in many places out of the province, as well as in it, and declares, "I am forced to turn itinerant again, for the care of all the churches from East to West Jersey is upon me; what is worst, I can't confirm any, even had I a deacon to help me." His earnest appeals for the establishment of the episcopate in America begot the suspicion that he was unfriendly to the government. It involved him in several serious and acrimonious disputes with Governor Hunter, of New

never exercised the prerogative of a bishop, and carefully concealed the fact, if fact it was. It has been accepted as a fact by most writers on this period of the church's history. Bishop Wilberforce, Canon Anderson, Dr. Hawks, and Dr. Hills[1] assert it; but the monograph of Dr. Fulton on "The Nonjuring Bishops in America"[2] indicates that this was a mistake, arising from confounding John Talbot with another man of the same surname, whose baptismal name is not given in the register of consecration. The grounds for establishing the fact are chiefly the assertions of a violent enemy of Talbot, Rev. Mr. Urmston, who urges the accusation, amid many other aspersions of his character, as an evidence of his hypocrisy and perfidy; and also an episcopal seal, which Talbot is not known to have used, or even seen, but an impression of which his wife affixed to her will in 1730, on which seal were engraved a miter and the monogram of Talbot, or, as some decipher it, I. Talbot. This was three years after Talbot's own death.

The reasons adduced for rejecting this testimony of the vociferous Urmston and the silent signet-ring are:

First, the improbability of an old man seventy-seven years of age seeking consecration for himself in a sphere where great activity was needed.

Second, the gross inconsistency of a Williamite seeking consecration of the nonjurors, from whom he could not have obtained it without a dissimulation of his political sentiments, alien to Talbot's character.

Third, the incompleteness and confusion of the record of consecration given by Percival[3] and Satterbury,[4] in

1 "History of the Church in Burlington," pp. 179–204, 211, 247.
2 See Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," vol. i., p. 541.
3 [illegible]

neither of which accounts does the surname John
pear, but only Talbot, and wherein the dates are
accurate, the consecration of —— Talbot being asc
to the year 1723–24, as performed by Ralph Taylor
died in 1722), together with Robert Hilton. John
bot had returned to America in the latter part of
Either the date given by Percival is inaccurate, or
Talbot could not have been the person consecrated.
cival's references for his data are partly to "some cu
printed documents in my own possession," and to info
tion derived from "the clergymen who were still livi
1839." The contemporaneous record of Dr. Rawli
since found in the Bodleian Library, omits the date,
the Christian name of Talbot, and changes Hilton's
from Robert to Ric; it is therefore incomplete and
conclusive.

Fourth, to have secured a nonjuror consecration w
have frustrated Talbot's chosen plan. It would
have split the colonial churches into two contending
tions, while Talbot earnestly labored for their unity;
the churches had all gone in one way, it would have
rated them from the Church of England, whose auth
Talbot was especially anxious to preserve. He, a
very time of the accusation by Urmston, was securi
glebe and parsonage to his successors, on condition
each of them should be "presbyter of the Church of

Church by the vestry for "conduct not proper to be mentioned or allowed in any sober society." Talbot was mixed up with these proceedings, and supplied Christ Church for a few months after Urmston's dismission. Hence the drunken wrath which raged without bounds, and which culminated in the accusation of Talbot's claim to be a bishop. It is from Urmston that Henderson and Governor Hunter received and repeated the slander. The one circumstantial statement that Talbot "convened all the clergy to meet, put on his robes, and demanded episcopal obedience from them," is refuted by Governor Keith, who declared in a letter in 1724 that "the clergymen accused of claiming the authority and office of bishop do not own to any such pretension." Urmston did not pretend to be an eye-witness of the transaction, and there is no other witness.

Sixth, the existence of a ring in the possession of Mrs. Talbot, engraved with a miter and a monogram of the family name Talbot, never used by John Talbot, and possibly a present from Bishop Talbot, of Durham, is too slight evidence to confirm so untrustworthy and inimical an accusation as that of the disreputable Urmston.

It has seemed best to dwell on this personal incident thus fully, using the material so elaborately compiled and combined by Dr. Fulton, because of its bearing on the character of a devoted man, and its influence on his fortunes. His accuser carried his malignity across the sea, and denounced Talbot to the Bishop of London and the Venerable Society. His own worthless character was not known to these, and Talbot was personally unknown to the new Bishop of London and the new board of managers of the S. P. G. The result was that Talbot was virtually dismissed from the roll of the society's missionaries, the payment of his salary being suspended "until he could

brethren." "The care of all the churches" was upon him; and walking among them in the sincerity and devotion of a man who took up the labors of a missionary when fifty-seven years old, and continued unwearying in them until past eighty years of age, he was in the province "a living epistle, known and read of all men." His memory has always been cherished in New Jersey with abundant honor. He was the fostering father of the infant Church in that province, and to him more than to any one else is due the strong root from which has grown so goodly a tree. His body was buried within St. Mary's Church, which he built, and which he had served nearly twenty-five years. One hundred and fifty-one years afterward, in 1878, a mural tablet was erected there to his memory, crowned with an enlarged facsimile of the famous seal; and in the inscription stand the words, "A Bishop by Nonjuror Consecration, 1722." The legend is thus perpetuated in the letter engraved in stone; but his more enduring memorial survives in the apostolic spirit which inspired him, and to which the effect of his labors bear continuous witness still.

In the same year (1705) in which Talbot became rector of St. Mary's at Burlington, the Rev. John Brooke was sent as missionary by the Venerable Society, and was placed by Lord Cornbury at Elizabethtown. His was a short but efficient ministry. He died in 1707. Yet, during his life in New Jersey, he not only ministered at Elizabethtown, but also at seven other stations fifty miles apart. He is said to have possessed in an unusual degree the faculty of arousing the people to a sense of their duty toward God, himself being earnest, zealous, and self-sacrificing. He had the courage of his convictions, too, and assisted the escape of Rev. Mr. Thoroughgood Moor, who while at Burling-

political and ecclesiastical contention, to savor of indifference. He had seen the church gain rapidly in times of controversy; and he feared that the charity toward dissenters, which granted there was but little difference between the church and themselves, might generate the opinion that there was no material advantage in conforming to the church. Yet there was no man more capable of taking a broad-minded view of both sides of a question. He was, by reason of his well-balanced intellect and character, deservedly one of the foremost men of the American clergy. His "Appeal to the Public," and "Defense" of it (the result of the controversy concerning the appointment of bishops for America) gave him justly great prominence as a polemical divine, while it showed the sedateness of his character and convictions. Unhappily the dread of political bishops could not be dissipated by a reasonable appeal for a spiritual episcopate. But Dr. Chandler gave a clear and dispassionate statement of what the colonial churches desired; and doubtless to this so famous pamphlet, and the controversy stirred by it, is in great measure to be ascribed the sudden cessation of opposition to an American episcopate, when once the success of the Revolution had dissevered absolutely the church from the state. He was not simply a scholar and thinker. He was untiring in his zeal in missionary labors, the effects of which were both great and permanent. He stood firmly against the unseemly and unbalanced enthusiasm roused by Whitefield in his visits to New Jersey, for he was convinced of the unhealthiness of such unrestrained excitement, and was much repelled by Whitefield's disregard of the church, whose claims were to him paramount. He refused his pulpit to the popular preacher, to the great umbrage of the religious public, being the first to do so in

them and others like them the church grew and spread, so that in 1770 Chandler states that there were "eleven missionaries in the district, none blamable, some eminently useful"; and of the church buildings: "we have now several that make a handsome appearance, particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick, and Newark, and all the rest are in good repair; and the congregations in general appear as much improved as the churches they assemble in." The name of Rev. Thomas Thompson may well close the list. He was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who, after five years of devoted labor as a missionary in Monmouth County, left America in 1751 to become a missionary to Africa. His labors on the coast of Guinea are recorded in his account of his two missionary voyages to Africa, which constitutes the first contribution from America to the literature of foreign missions.

The province of New Jersey was a special scene of warfare during the Revolution. The effects on the church were, of course, most disastrous. The missionaries were loyalists; and the churches, after the Declaration of Independence, were closed, because the clergy could not read the full liturgy, and would not read a mutilated one. Yet so prominent had become the church in the province that it was in New Brunswick that the first meeting of clergy was held which led to the movement for the consolidation of the colonial churches into a national Episcopal Church.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.

THE celebrated William Penn, both courtier and Quaker, was sole proprietor of Pennsylvania and Delaware. His friendly relations with the royal court and his steadfast adherence to the cause of the Quakers account both for his possession of the territory and the character of its colonization. In 1681 the territory had been granted him by the crown in discharge of a debt of sixteen thousand pounds due to his father, Admiral Penn. The charter fixing the boundaries of Pennsylvania was in some respects sufficiently indefinite to warrant Penn in claiming the lands on the Delaware which had been settled by the Dutch and Swedes; which claim was conceded by the Duke of York in 1682. This gave him possession of the waters and shores of the river and bay of Delaware to the ocean.

While a student at Oxford, Penn was greatly impressed by the preaching of a Quaker minister, Thomas Loe. In consequence of his neglect of the regular worship in the college chapel, he was expelled from the university, and was ordered abroad into gay society by his father. On his return, again meeting with Loe, his religious nature was stirred anew, and he embraced the religious ideas of the Quakers, about 1667, with an ardor and enthusiasm which from that time never flagged. He aided the emigration of a large number of Friends to West Jersey, of

Two emigrant ships were sent out in 1
1681, with William Markham as deputy go
August, 1682, Penn himself followed with a
Quaker colonists. He arrived in October, ju
of Philadelphia had been chosen. The fut
once laid out in that rectangular style so c
it, and before Penn's return to England, in 1
hundred and thirty-seven houses, many
stories high. No colony ever grew more r
bers, with the possible exception of Massac
spared no exertions to advance its interests a
His address to the province in the begin
right of self-government to the people, and c
realization of government "of the people,
and for the people" than any other colon
The first Assembly, which met at Chester,
ligious freedom. The Indians were propiti
allies by kindness and justice. The benevol
proprietor was reflected in the laws and di
the institutions of the settlement.

In 1683 the Mennonites, under the leade
rius, settled Germantown. In the same ye
established, where moderate fees only were

Christ Church, was erected in 1695, "a very poor church," according to Gabriel Thomas, who gives the date of its erection; and a petition for a clergyman was sent to the Bishop of London, signed by several hundred persons. Before one came, the Rev. Richard Sewall, of Maryland, held occasional services, to which he was invited by Mr. Arrowsmith, a schoolmaster to Governor Nicholson, who speaks of "a full congregation and some very desirous to receive the sacrament." There was thus a nucleus of churchmen formed when the Rev. Thomas Clayton came, in 1698, as the first regular incumbent of Philadelphia, by whom appointed is not clear. His somewhat intemperate zeal caused his Maryland brethren to remonstrate, and he withdrew. He seems to have had considerable sucaess; for the Rev. Edward Porlock, of New Jersey, who officiteed at times after Clayton's departure, wrote to the Archhobisp of Canterbury, in 1700, that the church community numbered more than five hundred souls in and about the city.

There was naturally a strong feeling among the Society of Friends against the introduction of the church. It not only seemed fitted to foment their own dissensions at the time, but they could not, for all Penn's intimacy with the king, get rid of their general distrust of the ecclesiastical body from which they had suffered persecution in England. Their opposition was, however, short-lived. In the latter part of 1701 the Venerable Society sent out its first missionary to Philadelphia in the person of the Rev. Evan Evans, who remained in charge of Christ Church for eighteen years. He was an admirable man, full of zeal for his church, and full of love for souls; an apt choice for the time and place. His earnestness prompted him to undertake great labors, not only in Philadelphia, but

Radnor, Oxford, and Perkiomen, places ranging from
to twenty-five miles distant from the city. All these p
he visited often, and some regularly. In Christ Churc
preached constantly, and also delivered two lectures,
a monthly lecture preparatory to the holy commu
the other a weekly Sunday-evening lecture to a socie
young men with whom he read the Scriptures and
psalms. He thus gathered about him many earnest
herents among the young, so that before the comin
Keith and Talbot, in 1702, he is said to have bap
more than five hundred adults and children of Qu
families; and before his visit to England, in 1707,
number had increased to over eight hundred. He
the assistance of a deacon, Rev. John Thomas, who
officiated at Trinity Church, Oxford.

The church's growth in other places was not inco
erable. Rev. Henry Nichols, who ministered at Che
computes that half the inhabitants of that place in
were churchmen. Political dissensions of a local c
acter disturbed at times the peaceable relations of
churches, but they were neither very deep nor very

throw of his colonial plans, called them "a rude and ungrateful gang," and announced that any who should invade the authority of his laws should "feel the smart of them." The commotion seems to have subsided by 1704.

When "Parson Evans," as he was usually called, visited England in 1707, his place was supplied by a Swedish clergyman, the Rev. Andrew Reedman; an incident which, like many other instances of interchange and good offices, shows the kindly relations of the two churches, which seemed to exist side by side, without any suspicion of each other's orders, to offer Episcopal ministrations to the community, the one in the English, the other in the Swedish language. Reedman had been sent over from Gothenburg in 1696 by King Charles XI. of Sweden and the Archbishop of Upsala to minister to the Swedish colonists. He died before Evans's return, in the service of Christ Church, in 1708, and was buried in Gloria Dei Church at Philadelphia.

Evans, while abroad, made a report of his labors in Pennsylvania to the Venerable Society, from which we learn that churches had been erected at Oxford, Chester, and New Castle,[1] as well as in Philadelphia; and the report ended with one of the many fruitless appeals for a resident American bishop as the most essential element of church progress. On his return home, in 1709, Evans brought with him the set of silver communion-plate which Queen Anne had presented to the church the previous year, and which is still in use in Christ Church. The congregation soon outgrew the capacity of the church to hold them, and two new aisles were added in 1711. New gifts of communion-plate and a font were presented by Quarry, and in Philadelphia the church waxed stronger and stronger.

In the country districts matters did not progress so favor-

[1] New Castle was situated in that part of the territories of Pennsylvania now constituting the State of Delaware.

of the best people by his scandalous conduct, and, being dismissed, Mr. Talbot was again put in charge. Then it was that, in revenge for his displacement, Urmston brought the charges of disloyalty and of a nonjuror consecration against Talbot, whom he regarded as the cause of his dismissal. As no appointment was made by the Bishop of London for more than six months, the vestry, in July, 1724, invited Rev. Dr. Richard Welton, formerly incumbent of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, London, who was visiting in the city, to take charge of the church. This he did with great acceptance for eighteen months, when, owing to rumors of his nonjuring consecration as bishop, and to reports of his refusal to pray for the king and royal family by name, he was commanded by the governor, upon his allegiance, to return to Great Britain forthwith. He had undoubtedly been consecrated bishop by the nonjurors in England, though it had not then transpired in Philadelphia, and so the vestry gave him a testimonial of his good conduct among them. Talbot's association with him, though they soon differed and broke off their correspondence, undoubtedly gave color, if it did not give rise, to Urmston's charge against him. Welton died at Lisbon, on his way home; and in September of the same year the Rev. Archibald Cummings was appointed by the new Bishop of London, Gibson, to the cure. He served, during a period of great prosperity for the parish, for fifteen years, until he died, in 1741.

The cause of the church outside the city continued to languish by reason of the destitution of ministers. The death of a missionary was frequently followed by the loss of a congregation to the church. Sir William Keith reported to the Bishop of London, about the time of Welton's coming, that there were "twelve or thirteen little edifices.

missionaries sent from the society to New Castle, Ch
Oxford, and Sussex; whose character for life and co
sation and a diligent application to their duty is, I be
generally approved of, and I cannot say but their beh
to myself and the magistracy has been all along
decent and respectful." This was a set-off to his
plaints against Christ Church, whose members ha
moved him from the vestry on the ground of his "t
upon him to overrule them, and entirely depriving
of the freedom justly due." Christ Church, in the p
of Peter Evans, repelled the governor's insinuation o
loyalty as "a piece of injustice," and under the mi
of Mr. Cummings went on its way rejoicing.

Seven months after Cumming's arrival on April 27,
the corner-stone of the present interesting edifice wa
by Hon. Patrick Gordon, the governor of the provin
Pennsylvania; the mayor of the city, the rector, and o
assisting. The walls of the new building rose ar
those of the old, in which the congregation still worsh
and the edifice was completed in its present form in
It was a great achievement for its day, and it is still a
mirable specimen of colonial architecture. Together
the parish it accommodates, it stood in the same rel
position to the colonial church in Pennsylvania as Tr
Church in New York stood to the church of that pro

body from the State-house to attend the service of fasting and prayer set apart by themselves, July 20, 1775, on which occasion Rev. Jacob Duché, who had opened the first Continental Congress by prayer, September 4, 1774, preached the sermon from Psalm lxxx. The first General Convention, in which the original constitution of the church was framed, was held here September 27, 1785; also the second, June, 1786; also that of 1789, when, for the first time, the whole Protestant Episcopal Church was represented by all its bishops, including Samuel Seabury of the Scottish succession, and by clerical deputies from New England, including New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. In this Convention the Prayer-book was ratified, and the constitution was extended over all the dioceses, making the church one. In this church Dr. William White was elected Bishop of Pennsylvania by the Diocesan Convention, September 14, 1786. He had been baptized in the church in infancy, he had served seven years as assistant in the parish, and, having been elected rector in 1779, he held that position, as priest and bishop, until his death, in 1836, a period of fifty-seven years.[1]

Three distinguished signers of the Declaration of Independence were pewholders in Christ Church. Of these, the most distinguished, Benjamin Franklin, served several years as vestryman. Francis Hopkinson was rector's warden, and gave his services as organist for a time. Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution, and brother-in-law of Bishop White, constantly attended service here.

A month before the day of humiliation and prayer, at a service which the Continental Congress attended in a body, Rev. Dr. William Smith, one of the foremost clergymen of his day, and one of the most influential men in the forma-

[1] Perry, "History of the American Episcopal Church," vol. i., p. 605 (article "Christ Church," by Bishop Davies).

1765. The rectorship of Dr. Duché was short, by reason of the political troubles of the time. As we have seen, he opened the first Continental Congress with prayer, and preached before it on the day of national humiliation and fasting in Christ Church. After the vestry, at the time of the Declaration of Independence, requested the clergy to omit the prayers for the king, Dr. Duché requested leave to return to England to see and consult with the Bishop of London, and remove objections he might have to his conduct. His opinions suffered a decided change, at least in relation to the success of the Revolution, and he wrote a letter to Washington, urging a cessation of

which he had now received."[1] He retained his rectorship all through his episcopate, and before his consecration was made chaplain to Congress during the war, and was again appointed by the Senate under the Federal Constitution as long as Philadelphia was the seat of government. Of his career we shall treat later on, for the history of the formation of the national church is largely his own. We turn now to other parts of Pennsylvania to see how the church fared there.

In 1760 the first convocation of the clergy was held in Philadelphia. There were ten members present, and four others were unable to attend, so that there were fourteen in all.[2] The accounts of the missions in Pennsylvania and Delaware stated, among other items, that in the Dover mission (coterminous with Kent County) there were three churches, under the care of Rev. Charles Inglis, who afterward became rector of Trinity Church, New York, and that these churches were crowded and the communicants on the increase. At New Castle the church was "thin of people," but at Chester there was improvement; and at Oxford the church was "in a very flourishing way." Radnor was faithfully supplied. There was a small church at Lancaster, another at Bangor, a third at Pequa, these last two of stone. There were missions at Huntingdon, York, and Carlisle. Reading desired a missionary, and Easton was in similar need. Yet the church, for all the efforts made, did not include one fiftieth of the population; and in 1766 Dr. Peters, who was commissary, wrote that about twenty missions were vacant. A third church, St. Paul's, had been added to the number in Philadelphia;

[1] Anderson, "History of the Colonial Church," vol. iii., p. 280.

[2] The clergy in the province of Pennsylvania, as distinct from Delaware, never exceeded ten in number, four being parochial clergymen in Philadelphia and six missionaries of the S. P. G. (See "Memoirs of the Church," Bishop White, p. 14, note.)

church in the following of the Rev. William MacClenn
chan, whom some desired for an assistant to Dr. Jenn
but whom the Bishop of London would not license for t
post. St. Paul's was thus hardly an element of streng
in the church life of the city. But stir and vario
signs of life appeared. When Whitefield came once mo
to the city, in 1763, he preached several times in the tw
churches, "without any of his usual censures of the clerg
and with a greater moderation of sentiment." The Co
lege and Academy of Philadelphia was training able m
for the ministry, with William White among them. T
Society for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of t
Clergy was instituted, an effort for whose resuscitati
after the Revolution started the movement for the co
solidation of the church.

All along there had been frequent exchanges of pulp
and parishes by the clergy of the churches of England a
Sweden; and when the Swedish language fell into disus
the Swedish churches, as those of Trinity Church, W
mington, Del., and what is now Gloria Dei Church
Philadelphia, became parts of the Protestant Episcop
Church.

Among the names of the clergy who wrought wi
great faithfulness for the church in Pennsylvania, not on
among the white settlers, but also for the negroes a
Indians, and which should be ever held in grateful remer
brance, are those of Crawford of Kent County, Beckett
Sussex, Neill of Oxford, Ross of Chester, and Barton
York and Cumberland. This last missionary reported
1763–64: "The German Lutherans have frequently
their Coetus proposed a union with the Church of En
land;" and "a large and respectable congregation of Dut
Calvinists in Philadelphia have already drawn up a const

canons and constitutions of the National Church, an
use her Liturgy and forms, and none else, provided
be approved of and received at Home, and that my
Bishop will grant ordination to such gentlemen as
shall present to him." It is impossible, in view of
testimony and of the gradual assimilation of the Sw
Churches, which the Venerable Society aided, not to la
the torpor and blindness which denied the episcopa
America in her colonial period.

To a great extent, all that might have been achi
and all that had been gained was wiped out by the R
lutionary War, during which, at one time, Rev. Wi
White was the only Episcopal clergyman in the S
Yet here the Venerable Society had assisted in main
ing at various times forty-seven missionaries and pla
twenty-four central stations.

But little has appeared in this narrative in regar
Delaware as related to the Episcopal Church of the
onies, because it formed a part of the larger province,
was called the "Territories of Pennsylvania" or
three lower counties on the Delaware." Its church hi
is thus mingled with that of Pennsylvania. In 1677 the
Rev. John Yeo came from Maryland to New Castle,
on being approved by the governor, was appointed m
ter by the court. The Swedes hitherto had possess

time. It is still sacredly kept in repair, and to-day is the home of a regular congregation. About the middle of the eighteenth century much excellent missionary work was done here by Ross and Beckett, and what the Swedes sowed was reaped by the Episcopalians when, by the gradual disuse of the Swedish language, the Swedish churches and congregations became merged in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

R IX.

IN THE CAROLINAS.

It was in 1669 that the proprietors adopted "The Fundamental Constitution of Carolina," framed by the philosopher John Locke in conjunction with the proprietor Lord Shaftesbury, his intimate friend. It proved to be an impracticable system of government, with whose general features, as they were never carried out, this history is not concerned. Its religious features are interesting, as it contained, contrary to Locke's wishes, a provision for the establishment of the Church of England, the building of churches, and the maintenance, through acts of the Parliament, of its ministry. No one was to be molested or coerced on account of his religious opinions. Any seven persons might organize themselves into a church who should profess their belief in God and their obligations to worship him, and adopt a form of oath or affirmation to be used by witnesses in the courts. Thus, either by the charters of Charles II. or the constitution of Locke, the Church of England was "by law established."

The Clarendon Colony did not flourish; and after its disappearance there were two colonies, Albemarle on the north and the Ashley River Colony on the south, respectively North and South Carolina. The settlers at Albemarle were reinforced by emigrants from New England who were not churchmen; and the Quakers were in sufficient force, though not numerous, by 1672 to be visited by George Fox. A large number of fugitives from Virginia, who fled to escape punishment on the suppression of Bacon's rebellion, settled in Albemarle; and under Governors Stevens and Sothel the state of this mixed society was anarchical, owing to the unwise interference of the proprietors.

Amid the variety of religious beliefs and sects there

following year a church of black cypress upon a brick foundation, large and stately, was built, and was called by the name of St. Philip. This first church of St. Philip stood on the site of the present St. Michael's. Williamson was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Marshall in 1696, and was later on pensioned by the Provincial Assembly, who gave him an annuity of thirty pounds.

Marshall proved an admirable man. He had been recommended by Bishop Compton, to whom Commissary Bray had introduced him, and by Burkitt, the New Testament commentator; and he did credit to their nomination. The Assembly, recognizing his value and desiring to perpetuate his services, passed an act in 1698 for the maintenance of a minister of the Church of England in Charleston. This was the first-fruits of the Act of Establishment granted thirty-five years before by the king's charter, and twenty-eight years after Locke's constitution had been published. The act appropriated to Marshall and his successors forever one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and directed that "a negro man and woman and four cows and calves be purchased for his use, and paid out of the public treasury." It ended by declaring that Marshall, "by his devout and exemplary life and good doctrine, had proved himself worthy of the high report made of him by the Bishop of London." His ministry was too short for the good of the church. He died in three years; and, before Bishop Compton could reply to the request of the governor and council to send them another minister like him, a clergyman, Edward Marston, was elected rector of St. Philip's by "about thirty of the chiefest inhabitants." He proved to be an unfortunate choice, and was ejected, after a few years of service, in 1705, by the governor and chief-justice. When the

attention he called to it, referred the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and agreed to stop sending any ministers into the colony until satisfied that the obnoxious law was or would be rescinded. The House of Lo ds, also, in response to a petition presented in behalf of the inhabitants of Carolina by a Charleston merchant, Joseph Boone, declared the law contrary to the colonial charter. The queen also pronounced the offensive acts null and void and they were repealed

war, Philippe de Richebourg, the first m
colleague, La Pierre, were both aided by
Society, though not employed by it.

The parish of St. Philip continued to be
in Charleston until 1751, when St. Michae
comprising all parts of the town south o
Broad Street. The ministers in Charles
favored than those of the country parish
gregations were steadier and the growth
The unhealthiness of the rice-plantations
the wealthy planters from the country to re
in the year in the town, so that often regul
only maintained in the country churches
till June.

Early in the eighteenth century Charlest
a flourishing town, with a lucrative comm
some houses, which were the homes of refi
gent families. It became a great mart of
the seat of wealth and fashion. There w
vision between the aristocrat and the trad
by the institution of master and slave. T
became distinguished for a certain elegance
result both of their domestic institutions (

ling from the public treasury of the province, besides considerable perquisites; and there was also a grammar-school in the city, which was allowed from the same source sixty pounds, in addition to the thirty pounds given by the Venerable Society. Each of the other seven parishes of the county had one hundred pounds proclamation money from the provincial treasury. There were handsome and substantial churches in almost all of them, and comfortable parsonage houses of brick, together with glebe-lands of several hundred acres, being the gift of the government. St. James's at Goose Creek, founded by the first missionary, Rev. Samuel Thomas, was a very flourishing parish, as were also St. Andrew's and St. George's. All these seven churches were within a radius of twenty-five miles from the city. Most, if not all, of these parishes were served by missionaries from the Venerable Society.

The Church of St. Denis, in the parish of St. Thomas, consisted of a congregation of French refugees who had conformed to the Church of England. The Rev. John La Pierre, the clergyman, had the stipend from the Assembly, but was no missionary. In Craven County one of the two churches (St. James's, Santee) was likewise a church of French refugees who had conformed; and the minister was a convert from the Church of Rome. Being sixty miles from Charleston, and land, in consequence, being less valuable, the glebe consisted of a thousand acres. To King George's parish, in the same county, the General Assembly allowed one thousand pounds for the building of a church, to which Governor Nicholson, newly appointed, added one hundred pounds. These churches were respectively sixty and ninety miles from the city. Of the two parishes in Colleton County, St. Bartholomew's had been vacant since 1715, having been then depopulated

objections; but judgment was at last pronounced against him. Then there was another appeal to the lord commissioners at home, and after a year Whitefield was again summoned. He neither appeared nor sent an answer, and the decree of suspension from his office he neither noticed nor regarded. The whole affair must have seemed to him like a very small affray at a way-station, past which the express-train of his enthusiasm was rushing on the more momentous matters of spiritual life or death.

Not so to Commissary Garden, to whose legal mind the whole transaction involved the order and stability of his church. He suspended the ardent and erratic evangelist from his office, and published "Six Letters to the Rev. George Whitefield," criticising both his doctrinal and ecclesiastical positions. This most famous episode in Garden's life as commissary would give a wrong impression of him if it led one to infer that he was a mere ecclesiastical martinet, scrupulous as to the letter and unalive to the spirit of his office. He was himself earnest and devout in the work of the ministry, though not an enthusiast, as in those times men of Whitefield's temperament were called. For thirty-four years he was the faithful rector of St. Philip's, Charleston. He was greatly interested in religious education, and himself inaugurated and superintended a negro school of seventy pupils, besides bestowing much time and attention upon the free school, which long outlived him. This was done in the face of many difficulties, at a time when the government had not one institution for the fifty thousand negroes in the colony.

By his exemplary life and earnest ministrations he gained and retained a strong hold on the hearts of his people; and no commissary left a more lasting or useful influence on the church and community. The liberality of the church was so stimulated during his administration

and contributions to churches and
generous, that in 1759 the Venerabl
to fill up the existing missions in the
came vacant. In 1769, however, a
on behalf of the Protestant Palatin
which immigrants were unable to sup
settlement was from fifty to seventy
clergyman already in the province.
ceptional appeal the society respon
S. F. Lucius, who continued among
society's missionary until the end of

Garden resigned his position as
after twenty-three years' service; a
resigned the rectorship of St. Phil
position from 1719 until 1753, thirty-
in Charleston, to which he returned a
in 1756, in the seventy-first year of

The year after his death Rev. Rob
immense influence upon the attitude
Carolina during the war and over it
to the Revolution, was made an as
and in 1759 became its rector, suc
Clark. Though an Englishman ed

work with characteristic energy to restore the waste places. It was mainly by his advice that the church in South Carolina sent her delegates to the earliest General Convention held at Philadelphia for the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, as was most fitting, he was elected first bishop of the diocese of South Carolina in 1795.

Among the most distinguished and faithful missionaries in the colony was Rev. John Hodges, who came to Prince Frederick's parish from St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1736, literally starved out of that inhospitable province. For fifteen years he showed a zeal and devotion worthy of all praise, and ended his labors only with his life, in 1751. Mention also must be made of Rev. Thomas Russell, who for thirty-five years ministered to the parish of St. Thomas to such effect that a number of his parishioners, among whom Mr. Beresford and Mr. Harris were the most conspicuous, left large legacies to aid him in his parochial work in the care and education of the poor. In fact, nowhere in the land was there shown among the laity a more active and beneficent spirit than among the churchmen of South Carolina. In some parishes a chief planter would build a church or erect a parsonage or present the glebe-land or provide an endowment. The clergy and the laity stood well together; and though the province was ravaged again and again by war, neither the church spirit nor the church property wholly disappeared amid the horror and turmoil of the Revolution.

During its earlier history and time of need the Venerable Society had assisted in maintaining fifty-four missionaries and establishing fifteen central stations in South Carolina. Unlike most colonies, this one outgrew, as we have seen, the necessity of much help, by reason of the generosity of the laity and the endowments by the gov-

society's earlier fostering care.

If we now turn to the northern settlement on Albemarle, known after 1729 as North Carolina, we that the real history of the church begins with the l of the Venerable Society in its behalf. It is true th 1701 the Assembly took so much notice of the war the settlement as to pass an act constituting each o four precincts in Albemarle, and one in Bath, parishes appointing a select vestry in each. The vestry was powered to lay a tax, not exceeding five shillings a to build churches, buy glebes, and employ ministers salaries of the latter not to exceed thirty pounds in modities, equal to sixteen pounds sterling. Under th only one church was built, at what is now Edenton, another begun, but not finished, in Perquimans. S religious books had been sent over by Dr. Bray the previous; but an unworthy minister (the only on hear of) destroyed the good effects they were mea accomplish. Of him the record is brief, but poi "For about half a year he behaved in a modest ma after that in a horrid manner."

Keith and Talbot, on their missionary tour for Venerable Society, essayed to visit this region in 1 but, after preaching once at a house in Currituck, were unable to penetrate farther into the country, be

infrequent paths more easy to lose than to find. However, in 1708, Gordon and Adams were sent out as permanent missionaries, and to them were assigned the four parishes or districts laid out by the Assembly in 1701. They found a most illiterate people. Few even of the justices of the peace and vestrymen could read or write. With this ignorance was combined the opposition of the Indians; so that, after a year, Gordon returned to England, "unable to endure the distractions among the people, and other intolerable inconveniences in the colony." Adams served faithfully for three years, when he died, in 1710. He earned the character of "a pious and painfull pastor," who "had much conduced to promote the great end of his mission." He left more communicants in Currituck than could be found in most of the neighboring parishes of Virginia, where there had long been a settled ministry; but he declared in the last years of his life, "Nothing but my true concern for so many poor souls, and my duty to those good men who reposed this trust in me, could have induced me to stay in so disorderly and barbarous a place, where I have undergone a world of trouble and misery both in body and mind."

At this time there was no organized religious dissent in the colony, except the Quakers, who were reckoned by Adams to constitute one seventh of the population. A few Presbyterians at Pasquotank conformed to the church under Adams's ministrations, as did also a small colony of Huguenots from Virginia who settled in Bath. The rest of the population on both sides of Albemarle Sound and along the Pamlico River were nominal churchmen, ignorant and careless of both church principles and religious obligations. Until the Revolution of 1776, however, the people asserted through their legislature that the Church

journeying amid deep swamps and along broken roads through a wild and desert country, and finding themselves, at the distance of every twenty miles, upon the banks of some broad river which they could only cross by good boats and experienced watermen, neither of which aids were at their command; encountering in some of the plantations the violent opposition of various nonconformists, already settled there in preponderating numbers; receiving in others the promise of some small stipend from the vestry, which was called a 'hiring,' and, if paid at all, was paid in bills which could only be disposed of at an excessive discount; forced, therefore, to work hard with ax and hoe and spade to keep their families and themselves from starving, . . . it cannot be a matter of surprise that some of them should have sought once more the shelter and rest of their native land."[1]

Into this rough land and rougher living there came from time to time men of striking character; and the Venerable Society assisted in maintaining thirty-three missionaries in the province up to the time of the Revolution. Successive missionaries for many years had, in addition to other hardships, to encounter dangers arising from the incursions of the Indians. Efforts were, nevertheless, made to instruct and preach the gospel to the savages. The negroes, also, were as far as possible cared for.

After the death of Adams, Rainsford came out, in 1712, and, though he remained only a year in the province, interested himself greatly in the remains of the Chowan and other Indian tribes. The notorious Mr. Urmston, who later created so much disturbance at Philadelphia, in relation to Mr. Talbot and the so-called nonjuror bishops, had come out in 1711; but, while enduring many hard-

the people. In 1730, however, there was not one minister of the Church of England settled in North Carolina. The only ministrations were those of Rev. Mr. Jones, of Virginia, who officiated once a month at Bertie. An itinerant missionary was then appointed by the Venerable Society to travel through the whole country and officiate occasionally in every part of it. This was Mr. John Boyd, who was a graduate of the University of Glasgow, and had been a physician in Virginia. He went to London for orders, the first candidate from North Carolina, in 1732. Returning, he became the minister in the northwest parish of Bertie. He seems to have labored with assiduity, but died after five years' service, a missionary of the society to the last. Then the province was divided into two itinerant missions, to one of which was appointed Rev. J. Garzia, who had come from Virginia.

A new Vestry Act was passed by the Assembly in 1741. It differed from former acts in that it provided that the vestry should be chosen by the freeholders of the parish in an election to be held by the sheriff on Easter Monday of every alternate year beginning with 1742. Hitherto the vestries had been close corporations and self-perpetuating. The act of 1741 made the number of parishes seventeen. It gave power to the vestry to stop the stipend of a minister guilty of scandalous immorality. This act recognized and declared the right of performing the marriage service to lie in the clergy of the church, there being at that time no organized body of dissenters in the province, and no dissenting minister who claimed any ministerial authority to perform the marriage ceremony.

The clergy, at the time of the passage of this act, consisted only of Rev. Mr. Garzia, of St. Thomas's Church,

twelve years he was the only clergyman for hundreds of miles of country. Though his labors were chiefly confined to Chowan County, they were extended at stated periods to three others. The distance and difficulties of his journeys in this rough country were very great; but he was cheered by the eager sympathy of the people. The chapels and court-houses were seldom large enough to contain half the numbers who flocked to hear him. He preached often beneath the trees of the forest, by the riverside, and by the sea. His health was delicate; but he was instant in season and out of season in his work. Eight years after the beginning of his ministry, in 1752, he gave this summary of his labors:

"I have now, through God's gracious assistance and blessing, been enabled . . . to journey about 14,000 miles, preach about 675 sermons, baptize about 5783 white children, 243 black children, 57 white adults, and 112 black adults—in all, 6195 persons; sometimes administering the Holy Sacrament of ye Lord's Supper to 2 or 300 communicants in one journey, besides churching of women, visiting the sick, etc. I have reason to believe that my health and constitution is much impair'd and broken by reason of my contin. Labours and also from the injurious treatment I have often recd. from the adversaries of our Church and Constitution; for w'ch I do and pray God to forgive them and turn their hearts."[1]

After this, in 1753, he reports that in thirty-five days he traveled 536 miles, officiated in 23 congregations, baptized 467 white and 21 black children and 2 white women. Where others found discouragement he found happiness and hope. His annual stipend from the society never exceeded the thirty pounds per annum with which he set

nine chapels in Craven and Carteret counties, and he built the New Berne Academy. He was a loyalist, and disappeared at the time of the Revolution, leaving behind him the reputation of a man of honor and a faithful minister of God.

By 1754 Wilmington had grown to be the largest town in the province; and handsome churches had been begun both there and in Brunswick, though they were long in building, and were not finished until within a few years of the Revolution. These churches were served by a succession of worthy men: McDowell and Barnet and Mills and Christian. Clement Hall was succeeded in Edenton by Rev. Daniel Earl, who continued in charge through the War of the Revolution, and reported in 1775 that he had not received a shilling of his salary from his parish for near three years. Burgess became the minister of Edgecombe parish, Halifax; and his grandson in 1834 conveyed to the vestry of Calvary Church, Harborough, a lot which his grandfather had purchased at the laying out of the town.

When Governor Tryon began his administration there came a great increase of ecclesiastical activity through the stimulus of his own zeal for the church. He won the good will of dissenters by his generous appreciation of them, while he zealously promoted the interests of the church, all of whose ministers found in his house a bounteous hospitality and a hearty sympathy. He was recognized by the clergy as a ready and indefatigable friend. Owing to a disconnected series of acts by the Assembly between 1754 and 1764, the province was left without any legal vestries, much to the confusion of the ministers. In the latter year this was remedied by an act providing for the election of vestries and the support of the ministers, whose salaries were raised to a hundred and thirty-three

of educational institutions. The stipends furnished to parishes by the legislature being quite insufficient to support the clergy and build up church institutions, the vestries resorted to the selling of pews and to lotteries to finish the churches. But the laws, while inadequate to the support of the church, yet served to exasperate its opponents, and made the people lethargic in doing their part. For a time the church seemed to prosper, and it retained, down to the Revolution, a majority of the population of the province. At the beginning of that war there were only two Baptist associations in North Carolina; and while the Methodists were becoming numerous, as a body they were still loyal to the church. A number of young men of the province at this time entered the ministry.

Macartney and Burges and Johnstone, and Blinn and Jones, went over for orders, and returned and did good service. Of the last-mentioned, Edward Jones, it may be said that he suffered the loss of all things to undertake his holy calling. He sold his patrimony to pay the expenses of his journey to England, and, being stricken with illness on his arrival, became penniless in a strange land. He had to walk to London, and sell his clothes to buy food. Some irregularity being found in his papers by the bishop, he was plunged almost into insanity by his desperate condition. Fortunately he recalled the fact that Governor Tryon, whose letters he bore, had a sister living in London, and, finding her, he received her compassionate assistance, and was enabled to surmount his difficulties. His case is here quoted as an instance of the great obstacles which stood in the way of those who would serve the church in her ministry, and to point out once more the cause of the church's tardy growth by reason of Parlia-

It is to be noted in the case of North Carolina
the English government established the churc
enues came entirely from the Assembly of the
Native taxes furnished such means as were giver
state; and these, supplemented by voluntary cont
constituted its entire support. The English go
furnished neither bishop nor revenue; though
praise cannot be given to the Venerable Society,
long and so generously contributed to the maint
the missionaries whom it sent or adopted.

CHAPTER X.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN GEORGIA.

GEORGIA was the one American colony founded in benevolence. The unselfish philanthropy of James Edward Oglethorpe suggested and promoted it as a refuge for poor debtors, imprisoned, by the cruel and senseless laws of the time, for poverty, and wasting their lives idly in English jails. He put upon the seal of the colony the legend, "*Non sibi, sed aliis*," and it well described the character of the settlement. The purpose of the undertaking seemed to inspire with the spirit of philanthropy those who came to minister to it; and this colony, small as it was, became the seat of the most extensive philanthropic institution of the colonial church—the Bethesda Orphan House established and supported by Whitefield. Interest in the colony lies more in the agents of the Venerable Society than in what was permanently accomplished for the church. With it are associated the names of the great revivers of practical religion in the English Church in the eighteenth century—John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. Their efforts in Georgia were heroic. It seems strange that they should not have left a more permanent impression upon it.

The first settlement took place in November, 1732, when Oglethorpe himself, accompanied by a hundred and thirty persons, arrived at Charleston, S. C., and, proceeding to the Savannah River, selected the site and laid out

which, doubtless, there was occasion eno
munity. Before he left, John and Char
Dr. Burton, of Corpus Christi College, (
the Georgia trustees, and he commend
brothers to Oglethorpe. Their father,
ley, who had given the pewter comm
first chaplain, was dead. But after
brother and mother, and much reflecti
two determined to go to convert the
to minister to the poor white debtor
ness devoid of common sense have su
vest had been abundant. Never was
and such zeal. They set sail in Octobe
in February of the following year. (
four months. He was assigned to Fred
on the island of St. Simon, intended as
Spanish invasion. He went at once, a
church discipline, administering strong
whom even the milk of the gospel wa
at once insisted on baptizing by immers
physically unable to bear that form of th
every day the drum beat to prayer
ardent idealist relax the discipline in
expostulation. Such efforts proving f

and singing praise; and about six the service of the Moravians began, at which I was glad to be present, not as a

found religious matters in a state of chaos, since the
vices of the church had been suspended by the ren
of an unworthy chaplain who had had charge of the
South Carolina. In much weakness of body he bega
ministrations with all Wesley's vigor, but with less
of discipline. He did not insist on immersing infants
showed less austerity and more geniality in his interc
with the people. His eloquence drew crowds about
so that many stood without the doors and under
windows to listen to his preaching. He lived in pe
harmony with his flock, and was untiring in his mini
tions for them. He visited the sick every day, and e
lished several schools for the children. On Sunday
read prayers and expounded one of the lessons fo
day at five in the morning. At ten and three o'cloc
read prayers and preached. At seven in the evenin
expounded the catechism to large congregations of
vants. During the week he had daily morning and e
ing prayer in public, and gathered the people private
his own house for instruction and worship three tin
week besides. He strove to gain access to the Ind
but with little success.

He was especially struck with the forlorn conditi
the orphan children in this wilderness settlement,
formed the project of establishing an orphan hous

could not better show my regard to God and my country than by getting a house and land for these children, where they might learn to labor, read, and write, and at the same time be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." He at once began the nucleus of Bethesda College, and during the thirty subsequent years of his life, though "in journeyings often," he never forgot or neglected this institution. In all he collected eighty thousand dollars for it, of which he gave sixteen thousand dollars himself. The institution was located nine miles from Savannah.

Temporary shelter was provided for the orphans of the colony by Mr. Habersham, a lay reader and schoolmaster, while the permanent buildings were in course of construction; and free instruction was also offered to the children of the colonists who were not orphans. An infirmary was established, and the sick were cared for by an experienced surgeon without charge.

In the meantime Whitefield returned to England three months after his arrival in Georgia, and was ordained priest by the Bishop of Gloucester in January, 1739, in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, and appointed by the trustees of the colony rector of Christ Church parish, Savannah. He remained in England until August, preaching to thousands who flocked to hear him, either in the churches or, when these were denied him, on the moors and commons of Kingswood and Moorfields and Blackheath. Never was greater enthusiasm stirred by any man. A heart so humane and lips so eloquent compelled a homage which was intensified by a sense of personal obligation. If some of the clergy grew imbittered, hosts of the common people heard him gladly, and he stirred their hearts as the heart of one man. He was not, however, turned from his missionary labor by his marvelous

evangelistic success, nor was he as yet imbittered ag
the church. He was constant at prayers and sacram
He gathered a thousand pounds for his orphanage,
obtained a grant of five hundred acres of land for it;
when he sailed in August for America he carried
men as assistants with him. His practical benevo
grew but stronger in the heated atmosphere of reli
enthusiasm. That atmosphere surrounded him e
where and at all times.

On arriving in Philadelphia from England, the s
of London were repeated in Christ Church; and in
York, where Trinity Church shut its doors to hi
meetings in the fields recalled those of Kensington
mon. Such demands were made upon him for ser
that though he had landed in November, 1739, he
reached Savannah in January, 1740. At once he de
himself anew to his beloved orphan house, making
the interests of the church in Savannah, to which h
been appointed rector, subordinate to it, though
once resumed his ministrations in that place, and s
to build a church for his parish. He returned north
few months, and came back with lay assistants for v

became more and more of an enth
zeal. It was impossible that one
aberrations, or perchance by reason
great things could be confined to so
little colony of Georgia. His sense
measure of his duty, and henceforth
making frequent visits to England, v
revived, and preaching also from tin
the colonies of America, with a
effective as ever. But in all his wa
sight of his beloved Bethesda C
money again and again in England
the excitement of his evangelistic
time he visited Georgia and devote
the orphan school.

By 1742 the great dormitories,
houses at Bethesda were occupied a
nearly completed. The services of
secured, and a foundation laid "in
Jesus for an University in Georgia
own phrase. Thirty-nine boys and
ported there, and some had already
The establishment had a strict disc
what overcharged with a religio

might be qualified to serve their k
their God, either in church or state
he showed that he had already exp
pounds on Bethesda. His friend
bersham, was now president of th
sembly, and by his influence the
was obtained. Though the necess
home authorities entailed delay,
favorable.

In the last year of Whitefield's li
or's council and the Assembly at
chapel of the orphan house; and
taking as his text Zechariah iv. 1
spised the day of small things?" "
who had had a most successful mi
cepted the headship of the enlarge
field's declaring his intention of ha
ship of the seminary agreeable
Church of England." The work
The death of Whitefield, howev
greatly impeded the development
labored to secure. He left by will
all his possessions in Georgia to his

had written to the Venerable Society, two years before that "Whitefield had done more mischief in Georgia by the disorder and confusion which he had created than he could undo in three centuries, and made his orphan house a nest for the enemies of the church." Ellington was succeeded at Augusta by the Rev. J. Seymour, of whose labors there is little record, but whose sufferings and persistent efforts to continue his work during the Revolutionary War called forth the sympathy and admiration even of those whom he opposed. He was a stanch loyalist, and after suffering "the loss of all things," escaped to Florida and ministered

CHAPTER XI.

SUMMARY OF THE COLONIAL CHURCH AND I
LESSONS.

BEFORE recounting the history of the formation
national church out of the remains of the colonial ch
it will be well to recall certain features of the past, i
to understand the movement based upon it. The
tages which the church in the colonies enjoyed w
contained in the countenance and aid given it
Venerable Society (S. P. G.). From the governm
England it received only the doubtful favor of a
Establishment in a few provinces. This Establis
enforced by the patronage of the royal governor a
council, gave the church a special prominence and
standing in certain communities. These commu
however were largely composed of dissenters wh

land, who were glad to escape from their debts and difficulties at home, and whose friends were so happy to get rid of them that they aided in securing for them assured positions and salaries on the distant continent. Of course such men were a burden and not a benefit to the church's life and reputation. Their carelessness and the scandals to which they gave rise were powerful incentives to the growth of Methodism while that earnest body was still affiliated with the church. They united the Presbyterian and Baptist communions to the tenacious preservation of those principles and forms in which they had found the realities of a religious life; realities which the worldliness, to say the least, of these ecclesiastical adventurers failed either to exhibit in themselves or administer to others. The church was more numerous in the provinces where it was established, but its life was not as healthful or as stable as where it was deprived of all state aid. The sad experience of Maryland and Virginia, as contrasted with the much smaller church communities in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, shows most unmistakably the mischief which may come of political patronage in founding the church in new communities.

Another lesson of vital importance is shown in the history of the colonial churches. It is the crass folly of trying to propagate a system by mutilating it. The colonial churches were acephalous. No bishop could be had, or even borrowed for a season; and moral discipline and ecclesiastical order were without any efficient head. The incredible discomfort of a voyage to Europe in those days, and the enormous expense of it to men of moderate means, put a check upon the growth of a native clergy, which experience proved to be far more valuable than an im-

hundred pounds for the purchase of house and land for
bishop's residence in Burlington. The struggle, however
of the House of Hanover to establish itself against th
House of Stuart absorbed at this time the attention an
interest of the crown; and no consideration could be give
to supplying a complete church order to distant colonist
many of whose clergy were suspected of favoring the caus
of the Pretender. Thus, under Queen Anne and Kin
George, these well-considered plans miscarried, as had th
attempt in 1672, under Charles II., to send out as Bisho
of Virginia the Rev. Dr. Alexander Murray, who had bee
a companion of the king in his exile. Such, also, ha
been the fate of the project of Dr. Sharpe, Archbishop o
York in 1711, who, together with the Bishops of Bristo
and St. David's, made a proposal to the Lower House o
Convocation "concerning bishops to be provided for th
plantations." The subject, however, did not cease t
occupy the thought of the episcopate. Archbishop Ten
ison, at his death in 1715, bequeathed a thousand pound
to the Venerable Society "toward the settlement of tw
bishops, one for the continent and the other for the isles o
America"; and in 1718 an unknown benefactor gave th
society a thousand pounds for the same purpose, which sum
was doubled shortly after by gifts from Mr. Dugald Camp

understood the necessities of the case she would allow a thousand pounds per annum rather than so many souls should suffer. Again, in 1716, he sent a most caustic complaint, in which he contrasted apostolic alertness with the government's delay, saying: "When the apostles heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, immediately they sent out two of the chiefs, Peter and John; . . . they did not stay for a secular design of salary. But we have been here these twenty years, calling till our hearts ache, and ye own 'tis the call and cause of God, and yet ye have not heard, or have not answered, and that's all one. There's a *nolo episcopari* only for poor America."

The call for the episcopate was not confined to the isolated cry of individual clergymen. In 1705 a memorial was addressed to the archbishops and bishops, from a convocation of fourteen clergymen at Burlington, N. J., praying for the presence and assistance of a suffragan bishop, and stating the urgent reasons therefor. Soon afterward Governor Nicholson, of Virginia, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury "that unless a bishop be sent, in a short time the Church of England will diminish rather than increase in North America." In fact, so much attention was called to the subject in England about this time that it became a topic of general conversation and a matter of banter to Dean Swift (we can scarcely deem it more), who writes to his friend, Colonel Hunter, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and became afterward governor of New York, that "he must hasten to get him his Virginia bishopric, or he will be compelled to go

In 1724 Samuel Johnson, the distinguished missio of Connecticut, then but recently converted to the ch urged the subject upon the Bishop of London, in vie the fact "that a considerable number of young gentle of the best educated among us, for want of epis ordination, decline the ministry, unwilling to expose t selves to the dangers of the seas and distempers; so the fountain of all our misery is the want of a bisho whom there are many thousands of souls in this co who impatiently long and pray." This private pet was followed up the next year by a memorial of six o New England clergy to the Venerable Society, pra for an orthodox and loyal bishop. One of the signe this memorial, the Rev. James Honeyman, of Rhode Is addressed as well a personal communication to the Bi of London, stating many and grave reasons why the ter should be attended to. The vestries and congrega were zealous as well as the clergy. In 1718 a pet was signed by order of the vestries of Christ Ch Philadelphia, and St. Mary's, Burlington, as also by many of the laity in Maryland, recounting the dens entailed on the church by this lack: "For of episcopacy being established among us, and that t has never been any bishop sent to visit us, our chur remain unconsecrated, our children are grown up cannot be confirmed. our clergy sometimes n

Middle Colonies. In reply to many hitherto fruitless applications, the Bishop of London empowered the clergy of Maryland to nominate one of their number for the office of suffragan; which they proceeded to do, naming the Rev. Mr. Colebatch, a man every way fit for the work. The legislature, however, interfered, and forbade the nominee to leave the province. The consecrated Clement Hall, of North Carolina, added his plea to the general voice. At last, in 1766, certain prominent clergy of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut (among whom were Dr. Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York; Dr. Chandler of Elizabethtown, N. J.; President Cooper of King's College, New York; Samuel Seabury, afterward first Bishop of Connecticut and the first in the United States; Dr. Inglis, later first Bishop of Nova Scotia; and the distingushed presbyter, Abraham Beach of Connecticut) formed a voluntary convocation to meet once a year "to use their joint influence and endeavors to obtain the happiness of bishops, and to support the church against the unreasonable opposition given to it in the colonies, and to cultivate and improve a good understanding and union with each other." This convocation addressed a letter to the Venerable Society, urging "as an incontestable argument for the necessity of American bishops" the fact "that not less than one out of five who have gone home for holy orders from the Northern Colonies have perished in the attempt."

This letter was followed in 1767 by Dr. Chandler's "Appeal to the Public in Favor of the Church of England in America," which, as we have already noted in the account of the colonial church in New Jersey, produced such widespread controversy. The subject had now passed beyond the limits of the church. The public papers were

raised in America, for aught we can tell, may be as con-
stitutionally applied toward the support of prelacy as o
soldiers or pensioners."

John Adams testifies that "fear of the Church of Eng-
land contributed as much as any other cause to arres
the attention not only of the inquiring mind, but of th
common people, and urge them to close thinking on th
constitutional authority of Parliament over the colonies."
"The objection was not only to the office of a bishop
though that was dreaded, but to the authority of Parlia
ment on which it must be founded. The reasoning wa
this: There is no power less than Parliament which ca
create bishops in America. But if Parliament can erec
dioceses and appoint bishops, they may introduce th
whole hierarchy, establish tithes, establish religion, forbi
dissenters, make schism heresy, impose penalties extendin
to life and limb as well as to liberty and property."[1]

From 1766 to 1775 the non-Episcopal churches of Ne
England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania com
bined in "a plan of union" "for preserving their religiou
liberty," and met annually for that purpose. They be
lieved that to suppress an American episcopate was on
of the most indispensable steps for maintaining their ow
independence. From a letter appended to the records
this body we learn fully their sentiments and apprehen
sions. After alluding to the effort to obtain an America
bishop, the communication proceeds as follows:

"Nor do we envy the Episcopal churches the privileg
of a bishop for the purposes of ordination, confirmatio
and inspecting the morals of their clergy, provided the
have no kind of superiority over, nor power any way t
affect the civil or religious interests of other denomina

tions. . . . It is alleged that no other than the ab
hinted moderate episcopacy is desired or designed
should it not be fixed by parliamentary authority
have no security that matters will be carried no fur
. . . Gentlemen acquainted with the law inform us t
bishop is a public minister of state, known in the con
law of England. . . . Might he not plead . . . tha
common law of England is his birthright, and tha
laws in force before the settling of the colonies
brought thither and took place with the first sett
What is to hinder him to claim all the powers exer
by Archbishop Laud and his ecclesiastical courts?
A covetous, tyrannical, and domineering prelate, o
chancellor, would always have it in their power to h
our country, and make our lives bitter by fines, imp-

of their authority; and where our governors and judges may be the needy dependents of a prime minister, and therefore afraid to disoblige a person who is sure to be supported by the whole bench of bishops in England: so that our civil liberties appear to us to be in immediate danger from such an establishment."

The sudden collapse of all such opposition after the Revolution had dissevered the colonies from the motherland shows that the popular objection to the introduction of bishops was chiefly political. It bore none the less hardly on the church on that account. Had there been any wise prevision on the part of the governing powers in England, bishops would have been granted long before any organized remonstrance could have arisen. In certain colonies bishops would have been cordially welcomed; and these could have exercised sufficient spiritual jurisdiction from such centers as to have insured the growth and purity of the church at large. The predominant conception of the episcopate at that time was, however, largely Erastian. There was no proper apprehension of it as a missionary force. Men's thoughts concerning it could not be dissevered from the station and revenues which pertained to it in England, where bishops were spiritual lords, members of the Upper House, and in possession of large incomes derived from ancient endowments. A print of the period illustrates the popular conception. A crowd is depicted shoving from the wharf a ship with a bishop in robes clinging to the shrouds. A large episcopal coach is prominent on the dock, against which a miter and a crosier rest. The mob are exclaiming, "No lords, spiritual or temporal, in New England!" Friend and foe alike were possessed of the idea that the office involved the trappings of worldly state. All efforts to secure an American bishop

involved efforts to secure for him an income of at le
thousand pounds, a large sum in those days. Such bis
as the church has since possessed in Chase and Ke
and Washington Lee were quite beyond the conceptio
the churchmen of that day.

Besides the imperfect estimate of a bishop's office
pioneer missionary, there arose another obstacle to
demands of the colonial churches from the vague con
tion of their wants and surroundings by the mother-c
try. The America of that time was more distant than
South Africa of this. It was, in the minds of men, w
and more savage than Australia and New Zealand in
day of their first colonization. It seemed incongruou
furnish colonists surrounded with negroes and Ind
whose life was so rude, whose wants were so primi
with all the institutions of an old and advanced civiliza
They might be happy if the Bishop of London no
them enough to ordain their native candidates who cr
the seas. The palace at Lambeth was as much be
their reach as the palace of Westminster.

This explanation of the denial of the episcopat
America does not excuse it. It illustrates the difficu
of a state church as a missionary propaganda. What
advantages inhere in an establishment which has gr
with the growth of the nation, and become intertw

Parts was founded in London in 1701. It was an outgrowth and extension of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of which Dr. Bray was also a chief promoter, which had its origin in 1699, and whose work in foreign parts had been "the fixing parochial libraries throughout the plantations (especially on the continent of North America)." After Dr. Bray's brief visit to Maryland as commissary, from which he returned in 1700, he made an appeal to the crown "to make such other provision as shall be necessary for the propagation of the gospel in those parts." The Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury appointed a committee early in 1701 to consider the same subject. Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton and many others favored the project; and the result was that on June 27, 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts held its first meeting at Lambeth Palace, the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding, with many other bishops and distinguished churchmen, clerical and lay, present. It is to the earnest, generous, and constant zeal of this society that the colonial churches were more indebted than to all other sources put together. What it did has in some manner been made apparent in the preceding chronicle of the different colonial churches. Its course was marked by wisdom from the beginning. It at once prepared for a preliminary survey of the field. It chose for this purpose one who knew the country and its needs, and who possessed, moreover, all the enthusiasm of a recent convert to the church.

The Rev. George Keith, the society's agent in this matter, was originally a Presbyterian, a fellow-student of Bishop Burnet at Aberdeen. He, after graduation, became a preacher among the Quakers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and after a dispute with the Society

the Martyr in New York, to Bishop 'I
Mormons in Salt Lake City, and to
In recognition of its invaluable servi
presented by the American to the I
one hundred and seventy-first anniv
held in St. Paul's Cathedral, July 4,
of the first Lambeth Conference
throughout the World, in 1868, Bish
Island, at a missionary conference
gave utterance to the sentiments of
when he said:

"For nearly the whole of the ei
society furnished the only point of c
of sympathy, between the Church
children scattered over the waste plac
. . . It is therefore with joy and g
representatives of the American chu
able Society on this occasion as th
ecclesiastical foundations, and lay at
sheaves of the harvest of her plan
speed the work of this society in the
The greatest, the most enduring, th
missionary organizations of Reform

Dean of Bromore, then Dean of
recognition of his abilities and c
ecclesiastical promotion was wi
Atterbury had said of him: "S
much innocence, and such humil
been the portion of any but ange
man." To one so gifted and priz
of personal promotion seemed in t
the opportunity to permanently b
nestly set about enlisting the s
and securing their gifts for his ent
Dean Swift wrote to Lord Carter
if his deanery be not taken fro
accomplished.

His earnestness was contagious
ber of voluntary contributions.
confine himself to these, by whi
have secured the necessary endo
government appropriation. To t
which he had raised, Sir Robert
added a personal subscription of
promise not to oppose the bill asl

lege, New York (now Columbia Co

Dr. Johnson was called to be the
these institutions. Benjamin Franl
claims of the Philadelphia Acad
though Johnson declined the offe
municated to Franklin the suggestic
which were carefully considered a
was not strictly a church instituti
under the influence of churchmen
was the distinguished Rev. William
most influential in determining the
of the Protestant Episcopal Churc
child, it was the foster-child of Berl

Of King's College (now Colu
Berkeley was the true spiritual fou
acted explicitly and consciously o
to them, through Samuel Johnson
the bishop. This institution has a
direction of a churchman as its he
Trinity Church having given the sit
the president of the college should
the Church of England, and that tl
ing Prayers should be those of the
the very heart of the metropolis of

still a name to conjure with in matters educational. town wherein stands the University of California is na in honor of him. His name is given to the Div School of Connecticut at Middletown, and to various paratory schools throughout the country, notably tho New York and Providence. The Berkeley Prize whic founded in Yale College is one of the most coveted i university at New Haven. There a college hall bea name, and a stained-glass window stands as his mem in the college chapel. His interest in America tinued active after his return to Europe. He frequ corresponded upon topics of education with our prom professors, and wrote shortly before his death to Pres Clap: "The daily increase in religion and learning in seminary of Yale College gives me very sensible ple and an ample recompense for my poor endeavors to fu those good ends." His interest in America was conti by his son, the Rev. George Berkeley, whose influ both in Scotland and England in securing an Ame episcopate was as great as, if not greater than, that o other single man.

The advantages of the colonial churches are thus to have arisen, not from government patronage, but personal and voluntary counsel and contributions.

PERIOD II.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN TH UNITED STATES (A.D. 1789–1895).

CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICAL ACTION PRELIMINARY TO THE FORMATION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

WHEN the War of the Revolution had ended it became a difficult and delicate task to gather the scattered remnants of the English colonial churches together, and out of them to construct an ecclesiastical corporation coterminous with the nation. The nation itself was as yet unsettled in regard to the nature of the union of the States. The political condition of the confederation did not of itself tend to foster the conception of one uniform Episcopal communion for the whole country. The first efforts, therefore, for the resuscitation of the Episcopal parishes were provincial. The church, as well as the nation, passed through a confederate period which, only after several years, resulted in both cases in the adoption of a constitution which established unity. In the same year (1789) the United States became a nation with a President and a Constitution, and the Protestant Episcopal Church an organized ecclesiastical body with Bishops and a General Convention. Previous to this consummation the State, in ecclesiastical as well as political affairs, preserved a prominence which concentrated attention on the concerns of the church within its own borders. In the beginning of the national existence the Episcopal Church in each State considered itself an integral part of the church of Christ, independent in its government of any other branch

In New England, where the church had always existed in opposition to the popular will, and where it had especially felt the defect of incomplete organization, the first necessity descried and the first effort made was to secure the episcopate. It was in Connecticut, where the church had grown up on the soil, developed out of conviction, not merely received by inheritance; where its ministry was chiefly native, and its character especially steadfast and correct, that the first distinct motion for completing the church organism by obtaining a bishop was put forth. This object was the one most beset with difficulties, having to face apathy abroad and turn its back on distrust and enmity at home. It was felt, however, to be a matter of life or death to the church. The body and the members were both preserved, though in disabled condition; but the head must be added, and at once, or the church could neither run nor walk, but must limp impotently among its adversaries, whose polity was complete, and whose patriotism was astir with hatred of both the English state and the English Church. Such was the general situation.

ACTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The first suggestion of a plan for resuscitating the Episcopal churches and binding them together into some sort of unity emanated from the Rev. William White, presbyter of Pennsylvania, and rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. In the summer of 1782, after active hostilities had ceased, but before independence had been acknowledged or peace declared, he published anonymously a pamphlet entitled "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered."[1] This publication was prepared just at the

[1] The document is given in "Half-century of Legislation of the American

time when Sir Guy Carleton made the first communica
looking toward the establishment of peace with indep
ence. It contemplated a state of things where there
no bishop and no likelihood of obtaining one; and its
ject was to inaugurate such action as should prevent
entire dissolution of the remaining parishes and con
gations. The author pointed to the fact that all fo
jurisdiction over the churches had been withdrawn by
war, and that their future continuance could only be

had been made bishop: "The congregations of our communion throu
the United States were approaching annihilation. Although within th
[Philadelphia] three Episcopal clergymen were resident and officiatin
churches over the rest of the State had become deprived of their clergy
the war, either by death or by departure for England. In the Eastern S
with two or three exceptions, there was a cessation of the exercises
pulpit, owing to the necessary disuse of the prayers for the forme
rulers. In Maryland and Virginia, where the church had enjoyed ci
tablishments, on the ceasing of these, the incumbents of the parishes,
without exception, ceased to officiate. Farther South the condition
church was not better, to say the least. At the time in question the
occurred some circumstances which prompted the hope of a discontin
of the war; but that it would be with the acknowledgment of Ameri
dependence there was little reason to expect. On the 6th of August,
the Congress, as noticed on their printed 'Journal' of that day, rec
communication from Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby, dated the
that month, which gave the first opening of the prospect of peace.
pamphlet ["The Case," etc.] had been advertised for sale in the 'Pr
rian Packet' of the 6th; and some copies had been previously handed
author to a few of his friends. This suspended the intended proceedi
the business, which, in the opinion of the author, would have been ju
by necessity, and by no other consideration.

"It was an opinion commonly entertained that, if there should be a

complete dissolution for all time. He had, in fine, so high a conception of the value of religion as the traditions and creeds and organization of the English Church presented and regulated it that he would allow no temporary obstacle to stand in the way of its future realization in the United States. The church might limp until it could walk, but it must keep in motion. And when it could stand in its own right it must stand unfettered by foreign domination or proscription. It must be, not the Church of England in America, but the American church. While holding to the essential and permanent features of the English Establishment, the American church was not only not to be an Establishment, which indeed were impossible, but it was to be adapted to American life and ideas in its constitution and administration. It was to make its appeal to the national character and spirit. Hence it could not be simply a clerical autocracy; it must draw its strength from the source which supplied strength to the state, namely, the people. Lay representation became thus a prime element in its structure. He regarded this, indeed, as a practice of the primitive church; but his urgent and compelling motive for its introduction was not chiefly a regard for antiquity, but his conviction of its necessity for a vigorous and truly national life of the church in the United States. The laity, in fact, through the absence of any thorough ecclesiastical system, had had so large a share in parochial management during the colonial period that not to have admitted them to the church councils would have seemed to deprive them of a right already existent. To recognize them as representatives did not appear like the introduction of a novelty. It seemed to be the appropriate recognition of the old spirit of church administration.

Such, then, being his purpose (to embody the essential

Dr. White would not wait either for a complete eccle
tical organization or a full national representation b
undertaking the task.[1] He was bent on an organiz
of the churches which could with propriety apply fo
episcopate, not waiting until all parts of the country c
respond to the proposal. It was his purpose to begin
such fragments of the colonial churches as could be g
ered, in order that there might be some body which c
speak with representative authority and form the nu
of a complete ecclesiastical organization. He believed
course necessary to give weight to the intended applic
to the English Church, when the time should come, fo
episcopal succession. It is certain, that he thus obv
one cardinal objection which the archbishops bro
forward to the consecration of Bishop Seabury, viz.,
there was no ecclesiastical or civil organization back of

These views were the issue of long deliberation.
were the outcome of a mind which had been brought
contact with most of the great minds of the country
ing the critical period of the nation's birth, and of
who had deeply imbibed the calm and devout spirit o
communion in which he had been baptized and bred.
came of gentle blood, his father being an Englishma
good family and a churchman. His mother was al
the Episcopal Church, with a strain of Quaker blo

WHITE'S EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION.

justifiable, had changed the persons, as in England
had aforetime substituted William III. for James II.,
henceforth his prayers went with his allegiance. Tho
to use his own phrase, he "never beat the ecclesias
drum," he was chosen chaplain to the Continental Con
while on his way with his family to Maryland during
advance of the British on Philadelphia in 1777, and
consequent retreat of the Congress to Yorktown.

It was a gloomy moment in the national history.
eral Burgoyne had not yet been checked in his m
through northern New York, the severing of the Sout
from the Eastern States seemed imminent, and the
chest was empty. His brother-in-law, Robert Morris,
that to accept the post of chaplain was to present his t
to be cut; but, because of the danger, White disco
the duty. Excluded from his cure, he divided his
between Congress and his family until the evacuati
the city in June. He continued to act as chaplain a
nately with Rev. Mr. Duffield, a Presbyterian clergy
until Congress removed to New York, and was after
appointed chaplain to the Federal Congress while I
delphia was the seat of government. On Mr. Du

ored by them for his scholarship and his character. Washington and Franklin were his parishioners; Hopkinson and Morris were his vestrymen; Jay and Hamilton and Madison were among his friends. He felt the stimulus of their greatness, and none of his thoughts or projects were petty, though, so far as his church was concerned, it was the day of very small things.

Thus when the plan of raising the church out of the dust into which it had fallen began to form itself in his mind, it did not take the shape first of a perfect ecclesiastical structure, as with the Connecticut churchmen, nor of a legal security for the properties of a disestablished Establishment, as with the churchmen of Maryland and Virginia; but his first purpose and effort were for the consolidation of the spiritual forces at hand. He would nourish and augment the life which existed by consolidating its scattered fragments, and increase its vigor by stimulating its circulation. From this status, as a body united and representative, he thought it could appeal with dignity and success for its completed ecclesiastical order abroad, and with practical and reasonable argument for its right to its temporal possessions at home. If Seabury possessed the legal mind of the movement, with his eyes fixed on "especially the parchments," and William Smith represented the practical politician, intent to gather up the fragments of glebe and parish possession, that nothing be lost, White may justly be called the ecclesiastical statesman of the time, by reason of the broader scope of his purpose, which contemplated nothing as local, but everything as national. His heart beat not merely as a churchman, but as an American who foresaw that even the wheels of the most complete ecclesiastical organization would never move safely and aggressively in the land unless impelled by a spirit within the wheels which should be the religious ex-

principles. It was not conceived in the spirit of sect. Its whole effort was for inclusion, not exclusion. Its government was based on historic facts, not on ecclesiastical theory. Its theology was as wide as the creeds. Its worship strove to reproduce the treasures of devotion from all ages. It came into being as a Catholic body, not as distinct from a Protestant body, but as inclusive of it; as catholic in its protest for the old faith of the gospel, and therefore against the outcroppings of superstitious aftergrowths; for the old order, and so against the extravagances of later ecclesiastical pretensions; for true worship in spirit and in truth, and consequently against the intricate technicalities and intrusive directions of mediaeval legislation.

In thus following the English Church as its mother, the Episcopal Church in America nevertheless cut loose from all that entangled it with the state, and asserted its competency to adjust the old life to the new conditions in which it found itself placed. It put away childish subjection, but it retained a childlike gratitude and love. It was transformed from a daughter into a sister church; and its action gave the pattern by which the mother church herself has since ordered the conditions of her children in the colonies. Upon essentially the same lines as White laid down in the permanent part of "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," the vast and growing churches of England's colonies have been constructed. English ecclesiastics of high position have recognized with gratitude their debt to the clear and far-seeing wisdom of the patriarch of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and that church itself is indebted for its harmonious working at home and its peaceful relations abroad in abounding measure to him whose voice was first heard summoning the churches into one national communion.

ACTION IN MARYLAND.

The title "Protestant Episcopal Church" was first applied to the Episcopal Church in Maryland during the latter part of the Revolution. It was adopted at a conference of the clergy and laity held at Chestertown, Kent County, Md., November 9, 1780. This conference was called by Rev. Dr. William Smith, shortly after his removal to the State from Pennsylvania, to consider the temporal condition of the churches subsequent to the Vestry Act of 1779.[1] It consisted of three clergymen and twenty-four laymen, mostly delegates from churches in Kent County. Dr. Smith was chosen president. At his instigation "A Petition to the General Assembly of Maryland for the Support of Public Religion" was prepared, to be submitted to the several parishes, and, when approved presented to the Assembly. It asked that an act be passed in accordance with the Declaration of Rights issued by the Assembly (November, 1776), empowering the vestry and wardens of the several parishes to raise money, by pew-rents and other means, to restore and keep in repair the church property. In order to appear as an ecclesiastical organization, a name was requisite. To speak of the Episcopal body as the Church of England would have been repugnant both to the loyal sentiment and the ecclesiastical prejudice of the province. It was moved therefore, by the Rev. James Jones Wilmer, rector of Shrewsbury parish, Kent County, "that the Church of England, as heretofore so known in the province, be now called the Protestant Episcopal Church."[2] Dr. Smith is reputed to have been the author of this name, and very likely he suggested it; but, being in the chair, he could

[1] See chap. iii., p. 82.
[2] See "Life of Rev. William Smith, D.D.," vol. ii., p. 39.

for leave to prepare a bill which should enable the Episc pal clergy, without losing their identity, to make nece sary alterations in the liturgy and arrange a plan for t perpetuation of the ministry according to the episcop regimen.

A great controversy was excited by the proposal. T odium of the Establishment clung firmly to its ecclesiast cal polity; and there was a dread lest the movement mig secure a legislative recognition which would involve quasi-union of the Episcopal Church with the state, to t prejudice of other religious bodies.[1] The petition wa however, granted, and the clergy met at Annapolis Augu 13, 1783, to consider the proposed law. They prepar a charter of incorporation for adoption by the legislatur and issued a "Declaration of Certain Fundamental Righ and Liberties." In this "Declaration" the church Maryland claimed to have an independent existence apa from any connection with the church in any other colon It asserted the right for the church to act on the beli "that there be these three orders of ministers in Christ Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons"; and that episc pal ordination was essential to the due exercise of mini terial functions in said church. It declared the identit of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland with t Church of England, formerly established in the provinc and asserted its title to the property secured to the Churc of England by the Bill of Rights. It affirmed the right the church to alter the liturgy in order to adapt it to t circumstance of its becoming an independent church. Th was the first occasion on which the title Protestant Episc pal Church was officially used.

All the eighteen clergy present signed the "Declar tion," and sent it to the governor with a suitable addres

the ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Mary land." This Act of Incorporation is the only law passe at this time in recognition of the church.

We now return to the Annapolis Convention of Augus 1783. One of its most significant acts was the electio by the clergy, of whom alone it was composed, of D William Smith, its presiding officer, to the office of Bisho of Maryland. A testimonial was prepared, to be given t the Bishop of London when Dr. Smith should apply f consecration, in which he was commended as a fit perso every way qualified for the office. The Convention als enacted that, until such time as a regular ordination clergymen could be obtained, three clergymen should b appointed in each shire as examiners of candidates for hol orders, to whom they might give certificates as lay reader By these acts the church in Maryland claimed to have distinct, independent existence, without reference to an connection with the church in any other colony.

Though Dr. Smith was never consecrated bishop, h was so influential later on in the formation of the constitu tion of the church that an account of his career forms a essential feature of the ecclesiastical history of his tim He was a Scotchman of good family, born in Aberdee shire about 1727, and was graduated at the University Aberdeen in 1747. He came to this country as tutor t the two sons of Colonel Martin, of Long Island, in 175 During his residence of two years in New York he pul lished a pamphlet with the title "A General Idea of th College of Moravia," intended as a sketch for a propose college in New York. It attracted the attention of D Benjamin Franklin and the Rev. Richard Peters, of Phil delphia, and resulted in Smith's appointment as provost the newly established Academy and College of Philade

there arose a distinct opposition to the institution, b
on political grounds. Its charter was changed, and
Smith, the only Episcopal clergyman among the profe
was dismissed from the provostship. This occasione
founding of the Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia
was one of the violent acts of a violent time, and is g
ally supposed to have been aimed at the provost, w
popularity and influence as a church orator were not g
ful to those whose political principles were more de
than his own.[1] In the patriotic fervor of the time i
feared, or it was plausibly assumed, that the broad
dation of the college would be narrowed into a Chur
England institution. After the Revolution, in 178
charter was restored, and Dr. Smith again became pr
In the meantime he had removed to Maryland and fou
his new institution at Chestertown. In one year h
lected ten thousand pounds from the planters of the e
shore of Maryland for its endowment, General Washi
himself contributing fifty guineas, thus testifying t
confidence in Smith's patriotism. As we have seen,
first commencement of this institution in 1783, Dr.
started the series of Conventions of the church in M

that he should have had opponents as well in those less dominated by his inspiring personality. The laity were not so enthusiastic as the clergy who elected him. Many were strongly opposed to there being at that time any bishop in Maryland. Even among his warm personal friends there were those who disapproved of his election. Dr. White afterward opposed its confirmation, not giving his reasons; but it is known that they were based on an estimate of his character. That character was generous, but not prudent. There was a secularity in his manner and tone of thought which savored more of worldly wisdom than of devout consecration. He was convivial, and may have at times lapsed into impropriety. The temporal rather than the spiritual concerns of the church engrossed his attention. In controversy, to which he was prone, the old Adam often got the better of the young Melanchthon. He was not, however, self-seeking. The opposition which he made to Dr. Seabury's consecration by the nonjuring bishops, if it had its personal element, was also caused by the fear that such a procedure would shut the door to the application for the English succession. This result would have greatly diminished the prestige of the national church, and given it a provincial aspect and character, marking it as distinct from the English Church, rather than as its legitimate successor. Dr. Smith may himself have been convinced of the inappropriateness of his own election to the episcopate. Certain it is that he never applied for consecration in England, though his election and testimonials from his State were above suspicion. When his election was not confirmed by the General Convention which gave its imprimatur to White and Provoost and Griffith, his disappointment did not sour him. He continued to be one of the most indefatigable workers in the construction of the ecclesiastical organization in which he was not to be a chief

exercised outside of Connecticut, i
Island, and at Westchester, N. Y
also, during the war as chaplain in
appointed in 1778, by Sir Henry (
king's American regiment, comma
ning. By his character, his church
cal convictions he was a fair rep
necticut clergy. He was their f
nomination was conducted accordir
and was a strictly clerical one.[1] I
of a clear vision, if not of the ve
saw with distinctness what fell und
a duty once discerned called out a
accomplish it which eminently fit
and difficult task now laid upon hi

In that time of doubtful prospe
unsettled ecclesiastical principles
country, it was fortunate that one s
of both the righteousness and the
should have been found to act as p
the episcopate. That one thing h

[1] It has been suggested by Dr. McConne
the American Episcopal Church," that the l
proceedings out of regard for their safety.

infirmities, and Mr. Seabury, by the advice of the clergy,

These consisted chiefly of a letter written to the Archbishop of York, on behalf of the Connecticut clergy, by Abraham Jarvis, who had been secretary of their Convention; a testimonial testifying to Dr. Seabury's election and qualification for the office of a bishop, signed on the same date as the letter (April 21, 1783), by the clergy in New York who had been consulted in the matter, namely, Jeremiah Leaming, D.D., one of the two designated by the Connecticut clergy as a fit nominee, Dr. Inglis, rector, and Dr. Benjamin Moore, assistant minister, of Trinity Church; and a long letter of the same signatures to the Archbishop of York, dated May 24th.

Longer epistles of the same character, but of later date, were addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that see having been vacant when the first letters were written. These communications urged the paramount necessity of laying the foundation of a valid and regular episcopate in America; expressed dissatisfaction and rejection of the plan, published in Philadelphia, to constitute a nominal episcopate by the united suffrages of presbyters and laymen, which had been proposed and justified on the plea of the impossibility of securing bishops; pointed out that opposition to an American episcopate, on the part of non-Episcopalians, had declined since the acknowledgment of independence had deprived it of any political character; and urged that the various legacies which had been left for the support of bishops in America should be appropriated to the maintenance of Dr. Seabury, in case of his consecration. The communication from New York also commended the Rev. Dr. T. B. Chandler, formerly of Elizabeth, N. J., for appointment to the bishopric of Nova Scotia.[1]

[1] The Rev. Dr. Chandler was later fixed upon for the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, but, by reason of ill health, he was obliged to decline the appointment.

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ning, Jarvis,

church at large. Certified copies of the law which had been passed, "embracing the church and comprehending all the legal rights and powers intended to be given to any denomination of Christians," were sent to Seabury by the committee and used by him, but, so far as he was concerned, used in vain.

There was at this stage of proceedings no disentangling the political from the ecclesiastical relations of the episcopate in the minds of bishops appointed by the crown. The apprehension of the civil rulers, also, of giving umbrage to a power with whom a treaty of peace had just been signed stayed their hand in opening the way for the bishops to act. Without the formal request, or at least consent, of Congress, the ministry refused to permit a bishop to be consecrated for any of the United States. Parliament adjourned, and no enabling act had been passed. Seabury had now been in England over a year. He could not anticipate either a speedy or a favorable action of the great powers, temporal or spiritual. Mindful of his instructions at home, he proceeded to Scotland to lay his case before the nonjuring bishops of that realm. The way had been

the pressure of poverty as a reason for their speedy decision; and he made a suggestion that must have touched them strongly when, toward the end of his letter, he said, "Perhaps for this cause, among others, God's providence has supported them, and continued their succession under various and great difficulties: that a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical episcopacy may from them pass into the

ber, that the Scotch bishops were willing to comply
Seabury's proposal, "to clothe him with the episc
character, and thereby convey to the Western world
blessings of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical ep
pacy, not doubting that he will so agree with us in doc
and discipline as that he, and the church under his cl
in Connecticut, will hold communion with us and
church here in catholic and primitive principles." A
deen was fixed upon for the place of consecration, and
time was left to Dr. Seabury to decide. He at once
his answer, conveying his thanks for their consent, p
ising, so far as his influence could extend, to establisl
most liberal intercourse and union between the Episc
Church in Scotland and that in America, and appoi
November 10th as the time of his arrival in Aberdee

Immediately on his arrival, arrangements were mad
his consecration. It took place November 14, 1784, l
a Sunday, in the chapel, which was formed out of
upper rooms of the house of the coadjutor Bisho
Aberdeen, Dr. Skinner. It was situated in Longac
narrow lane of the city, where public carriages n
passed.[2] Though the severe penal laws had fallen
disuse, and larger assemblies than the four persons
outside the household could now meet undisturbed
idea of erecting an ostensible, church-like place of wo

respectable clergymen and a great number of laity." The consecrator was Robert Kilgour, primus, assisted by Arthur Petrie, the Bishop of Ross and Morny, and John Skinner, the coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen, who preached the sermon on the occasion.[1] In view of all the past and of all the future it was a significant moment. The act secured at least two great results of far-reaching influence. In and through its effect upon England it undoubtedly hastened the Enabling Act, whereby the English bishops were empowered to convey the episcopate to America and give the stamp of national character to the Protestant Episcopal Church. In its effect upon America it saved it from the chaos of a continued acephalous condition, and secured to it the incomparable Communion Office, through the influence of Seabury, which both restores the primitive completeness of the service and guards it sedulously from the Roman error of transubstantiation.

Bishop Seabury, as soon as possible after his consecration, made arrangements for his return to his home, which was now to be his diocese.[2] He did not sail, however, for six months; but he made good use of the interval. On the day after his consecration he signed a concordat[3] with the bishops who had consecrated him, which pledged full

[1] The sermon preached by Bishop Skinner was published both in England and Scotland, and aroused much attention and animadversion because of its seeming reflections on the Church of England, in its assertion, in a note, that the Scotch church was wont to pay more attention to "the Acts of the Apostles than to the acts of Parliament." There were sharp criticisms upon it by Bishop Lowth and the Rev. George (afterward Bishop) Gleig and others. It, however, undoubtedly aroused the attention of Englishmen to the unnecessary oppression of the Scotch Episcopal Church, which led to the repeal of the penal laws in 1792.

[2] Bishop Seabury preached in the afternoon of the day of his consecration, in the chapel where he received his orders, and made a favorable impression by his earnestness, at the same time startling the congregation by the energy of his delivery, as "he used more gesture than was common in Scotland, and waved a white handkerchief while he preached." (See Beardsley, "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury, D.D.," p. 157.)

[3] See Appendix A.

the respective heads, on the basis of their common
and contained a promise of the new prelate to ende
all he consistently could with peace and prudence to
the Communion Office of the church in Connecticut to
form to that of the church in Scotland. There was a
tain implied promise, also, that when in Scotland he sh
not hold communion in public service with those ord
by an English or Irish bishop, whom the Scotch bis
looked upon as schismatical intruders. This is a water-
in the document, which shows not merely the scar
quivering from the ill usage which the Scotch Episc
lians had received, but also indicates the sturdy
consciousness and respect which lived in the hear
those who ventured to do what English bishops coul
do, and who endeavored to impress on the churc
America a peculiar stamp of their own which the En
Church lacked. Armed with this concordat, with his
ter of consecration, and a letter from the Scotch bis
to the clergy of Connecticut, Bishop Seabury went o
way.

Before going to London he stopped with his old lo
friend, Dr Myles Cooper, at Edinburgh, and there
a letter to Rev. Jonathan Boucher, which showed a
candid and larger view of the situation than might
been expected, and indicated that he intended to ru

soon as he could make definite arrangements for his de
parture, which he found could not be until spring. H
corresponded with the Venerable Society, concerning th
continuance of his own and the other missionaries' sti
pends, and found that by the constitution of that societ
no help could in future be expected, as it was empowere
by its charter to assist missionaries only in the colonies o
Great Britain. He had interesting interviews with Dr
Inglis and Rev. Jacob Duché, both of whom had left thei
charges in America on account of their loyalty to th
crown, and who gave him letters to Dr. White (now mov
ing in the matter of the organization of the church in th
United States), which, if not needed, greatly tended t
smooth the way, on his return, for cordial and courteou
intercourse with that calm and statesmanlike divine. H
met with the Rev. Charles Wesley (who deplored the pre
cipitancy of his brother John in setting apart Coke an
Asbury as superintendents "of the Methodists in Amer
ica"), and he impressed him greatly. "You knew," wrot
the younger Wesley to Dr. Chandler, "I had the happi
ness to converse with that truly apostolical man, who i
esteemed by all that know him as much as by you an
me. He told me he looked upon the Methodists as soun
members of the church, and was ready to ordain any o
the preachers whom he should find duly qualified."[1]

bishop in America there will be no ground on which to make such a request
and that *the Philadelphia plan was only proposed on the supposition of a rea
and absolute necessity*, which necessity cannot exist where there is a bisho
resident in America, every apprehension of this kind must vanish. My ow
inclination is to cultivate as close a connection with the Church of Englan
as that church and the political state of the two countries shall permit. M
hope is to promote the interests of that church with greater effect than ever.
(Letter of Bishop Seabury of December 3, 1784. See Beardsley, "Life o
Samuel Seabury," p. 160.)

[1] He adds in the same letter a sorrowful lament over his brother's act, an
a prophecy, which has certainly not been fulfilled. "Had they had patienc

CHAPTER XIII.

FORMATION AND ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE PRAYER-BOOK (1784–89).

THE movement to constitute one Episcopal Church for the whole United States was begun at an informal meeting of several clergymen from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, at New Brunswick, N. J., May 11, 1784. They met by appointment to consult concerning the interests of the "Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy," a corporation which had been founded in 1769, largely by the efforts of Dr. William Smith, for the benefit of the three provinces now represented at the meeting.[1] Its charter and its funds needed attention under the changed conditions of the country. Before this meeting was arranged, the Rev. Abraham Beach, of New Brunswick, who suggested it, had written, in January, 1784, a letter to Dr. William White, of Philadelphia, expressing the hope "that the members of the Episcopal Church in this country would interest themselves in its behalf, would endeavor to introduce order and uniformity into it, and provide for a succession in the ministry."

This was thoroughly in accord with the plans and pur-

[1] This corporation, by mutual consent, and with a fair division of the funds, was afterward resolved into three, under the charters of the three States respectively.

necticut, and that, pending the application, they could not join in any proceeding which might seem to interfere with it.

A committee of correspondence was, however, appointed "for the purpose of forming a continental representation of the Episcopal Church, and for the better management of the concerns of said church"; and also a committee, consisting of Messrs. Beach, Bloomer, and Moore, to attend the Trinity Convocation of the Connecticut clergy "for the purpose of soliciting their concurrence . . . in such measures as may be deemed conducive to the union and prosperity of the Episcopal Church in the States of America." It was also agreed to procure as general a meeting as might be of representatives of the clergy and laity of the different States in the city of New York on the 6th of October following.

Before that general meeting a provincial one was held in Philadelphia which had great influence upon it. Within a fortnight after the meeting in New Brunswick a convention of the clergy and laity from the different parts of Pennsylvania was held in Christ Church (May 24, 1784), in accordance with the previous recommendation of the clergy and vestries of the churches of Philadelphia at their meeting (March 29th and 30th), for the purpose of forming a representative body of the Episcopal churches of the State. The clergy, of whom there were four, came in their right as rectors; the laymen, of whom there were twenty-one, had their appointment by delegation from the churchwardens and vestrymen of each separate Episcopal congregation. It was the first time that the laity sat in the councils of the church. Dr. White presided, and each church had one vote. A resolution reported by a special committee was adopted to this effect:

r ecclesiastical government, when framed, be
the several congregations, to be binding on
regations consenting to it, as soon as a majority
gregations shall have consented; and that the
be bound by the following instructions or
l principles:

That the Episcopal Church in these States is,
to be, independent of all foreign authority,
l or civil.

, That it ought to have, in common with all
ous societies, full and exclusive powers to reg-
oncerns of its own communion.

That the doctrines of the gospel be maintained
fessed by the Church of England; and uni-
worship continued, as near as may be, to the
aid church.

, That the succession of the ministry be agree-
: usage which requireth the three orders of
ests, and deacons; that the rights and powers
, respectively, be ascertained; and that they be
cording to reasonable laws, to be duly made.

That to make canons or laws there be no other
nan that of a representative body of the clergy
onjointly.

(both afterward bishops of the
New York (subsequently its fi
Wilmington, Del. (one of the
changes), West of Baltimore, an
Md., Griffith of Fairfax, Va. (
State), and Purcell of South Caro
these letters, which entered at le
plans of reconstruction, and whi
source, stirred the interest and st
brought so large a delegation t
appointed.

It was on the 6th of October t
upon at New Brunswick in May
Rev. Dr. William Smith was mad
representatives of eight States
meeting, like that of May, at wl
regarded as a voluntary rather th
tion, because, apart from the dele
Connecticut, and Pennsylvania,
no authority from the united chu
but only held appointments fro
Even the regularly appointed
authority only to propose and de
body, therefore, took the form

the Episcopal Church in this coun
siastical and civil control, was not t
exclude an application for the epis
episcopal power abroad; and the c
sentative body of clergy and laity
exceed the clergy, either in their
Accompanying the resolutions thu
of votes by the clergy of Massachu
the chief of which was one urging
be written to the Episcopal clerg
York, and Pennsylvania, urging
uniting with us in adopting some s
cure an American episcopate; a
opinion of this convention that th
they ought to have in view, becau
the church requires some speedy r
lar ordination." In the letter tran
and the votes it was said: "It is
that it is beginning at the wrong e
ize our church before we have obt
to the mode of obtaining what we s
wish above all things to procure it i
ner, and particularly from our moth

cated one general Episcopal Church for the United States to be constitutionally governed by representatives, clerical and lay, from the church in each State; that this church embody the doctrine and adopt the liturgy of the English Church, so far as consistent with the changed political situation; that bishops be recognized as *ex officio* members of the General Convention; and that the concurrence of clergy and laity be essential for the validity of all measures. The first meeting of this General Convention was appointed for the Tuesday before the feast of St. Michael (i.e., September 27th), 1785, at Philadelphia.

This action, thought advisory and voluntary, was a timely one. It came in between two significant acts which bore strongly on the future of the Episcopal Church. On the 2d of September of this same year John Wesley had privately, in his bedroom at Bristol, solemnly set apart Dr. Coke as superintendent of the Methodists in America with authorization to appoint Rev. Francis Asbury to a like position, and to ordain elders for the administration of the sacraments. Hitherto the Methodists, who now numbered fifteen thousand members and eighty-three preachers, besides several hundred local preachers,[1] had held themselves to be a society in the English Church, receiving the sacraments from its clergy. Henceforth they were to form a separate communion, and remove from ever a quasi-connection with the Episcopal Church.[2] It is doubtful if Mr. Wesley meant more than to impart to Dr Coke and Mr. Asbury, in a solemn manner which should compel respect and obedience, a special superintendence of the American Methodists, like that which he bore to the Methodist societies in England and Ireland. He certainly gave them the power of ordaining elders who should administer the sacraments; but this he did on the principle

(which in a limited way he practiced in regard to Scot
and which he had adopted from Lord King) that a p
byter might ordain presbyters. As America was
severed civilly and ecclesiastically from England, he
sumed that he might rightfully do this for those ou
the control of the English Church. When, however, t
superintendents, a few years later, called themselves b
ops, Wesley was loud in his protest against it.[1] B
was too late. The force and fervor of the whole body
then in full swing. Their administration had the effici
of the episcopal regimen; and their religious enthus
carried them further and further from any sympathy
the order and moderation of the church from which
came out. No one in America, at the time of the Oct
Convention, knew of this circumstance; but the action
been taken which, but for this anticipative legisla
might have detached even larger numbers of Sout
Episcopalians from the fold. As it was, South Caroli
little later came into connection with the General Con
tion only on the express stipulation that there shoul
no bishop in their State.

The action was, moreover, timely in relation to
Seabury's consecration, a month later, by the Scotch
juring bishops. At the time of the Convention it
known that he had not succeeded with the English bis

have stood to the apprehension of
imported sect, discredited, if not dis
of the colonial churches. Whatev
Connecticut might contribute to the
dependent on its reception by a bo
principles of legislation, in harmony
of representation, and determined t
and traditions of Christianity as en
of England.

These two events (the breaking
and the establishment of a church
cut), great as were their effects
church, were as yet unknown an
those interested in the constitutio
the advisory Convention of 1784
for the authoritative and duly con
in Philadelphia in 1785, the member
of responsibility and anxiety. The
prehensive that too much would be
erners were solicitous lest too muc
Dr. White, as prime mover and co
hopeful. At a meeting held at h
1785) by the members of the Ne
the preceding October, a Conventi

duly assembled, "An Act of Association of th
Congregations of the Protestant Episcopal C
State of Pennsylvania" was ratified, where
"The Protestant Episcopal Church in the St
sylvania" was adopted; an annual Conv
authority was established, pledged in its a
consistent with the fundamental principles
the two previous meetings in Philadelphi
York"; and deputies were chosen to the Con
held in Philadelphia in September, 1785.

On the 18th of May, 1785, a convention (
been authorized by the act of the General
the State), consisting of thirty-six clergyme
than seventy laymen of the Episcopal Churc
met in Richmond, and passed resolutions ap
uties to the Philadelphia Convention to be
tember, 1785. It agreed to the fundament
of the proposed constitution, but declined
by Section IV., concerning the doctrine and
Section VI., concerning the mode of delibera
ing.[1] It then proceeded to the enactment o

the proper means of obtaining consecration for a bishop to officiate in this church." In Maryland, where, as in Pennsylvania, a Convention had been held before the October meeting in New York, another Convention was held subsequent to it, in the latter part of October, in which, the church in the State having been previously organized, the relations of the State Convention to the General Convention were defined.

After two attempts, a Convention of the clergy and laity of South Carolina was held in Charleston July 12, 1785, to take into consideration the matters recommended by the meeting at New York. It was sparsely attended, only three clergymen and scarcely half a score of laymen being present. Little was done, either in the way of organizing the church in South Carolina or suggesting action for the deputies of the church at large; but five deputies were chosen, only one of whom was a clergyman. This clergyman was the Rev. Robert Smith, who declined the appointment, and was replaced by the Rev. Henry Purcell. Smith's reasons for declining were of the noblest. Episcopacy was in this State distrusted as identified with an undue attachment to the British government. The anti-British sentiment, on account of the fearful ravages of the war, was intense; and there was danger that patriotic aversion to the church might be increased by its ecclesiastical consolidation. There was a strong probability that the Convention would decline the invitation given by the Convention in New York. Dr. Robert Smith, being the most probable candidate for bishop, should one be chosen, averted the danger by moving compliance with the invitation to join the Convention, on the understanding that no bishop should be settled in the State. He sacrificed his own prospects and was content to appear an

Convention. After so doing he could not feel that he
the proper representative to advocate a policy which
ried out his motion, but did not express his sentiment

In New York a Convention was assembled June
1785, scarcely larger than that of South Carolina, con
ing of five clergymen and eleven laymen, who ele
three clerical and three lay delegates to the coming G
eral Convention, whom they commended to conform
the general principles already established to regulate t
conduct in the matter.

In New Jersey the Convention met at New Brunsw
July 6, 1785, consisting of three clergymen and four
laymen, and proceeded to elect a delegation of four cle
men and six laymen to the coming General Conven
These were empowered to accede, on the part of
Convention, to the fundamental principles of the Oct
Convention in New York, and to adopt measures neces
for the general church not repugnant to those fundame
principles. Arrangements were also made for an an
State Convention.

At the North a different attitude toward the co
Convention was occasioned by the return (June 30, 1
of Dr. Seabury, now a bishop. He had met his clerg
convocation at Middletown on the 2d of August,
delivered to them a solemn charge, and had received

Bishop Seabury and his clergy to attend the Convention to meet in Philadelphia in September. This, in turn, it did not seem expedient or proper to the Connecticut clergy to do. The fifth of the fundamental articles set forth in the preliminary Convention at New York did not give to their bishop that official precedence which they held to be his due.

Mr. Parker, of Boston, who was present at the Middletown convocation, had urged Bishop Seabury to attend at Philadelphia, and wrote to Dr. White, a fortnight before the assembling of the Convention, that, had Section V. (as he had proposed) provided that a bishop, if present, should be president of the Convention, he made no doubt one would have been there. In the meantime such slight alterations as had been made in the liturgy at Middletown were in the main adopted by a Convention of clerical and lay delegates from the churches in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. A copy of these proceedings, sent by Mr. Parker to Dr. White for the president of the coming Convention, was all the response made to the invitation to attend. Bishop Seabury himself wrote a long letter to Dr. William Smith, and a shorter one to Dr White, setting forth his sentiments, and criticising the fundamental principles adopted in New York. He forwarded these documents through Dr. Chandler, who had now returned from abroad to New Jersey; and that worthy divine accompanied the communications with a weighty one of his own. All the letters were fraternal in tone and courteous in language; they were equally explicit and outspoken in their opinions. They criticised the premature establishment of so many and so precise fundamental rules the too great curtailment of the episcopal office and dig

largest of any which had sent delegates, had objected. Instead of it, a resolution was adopted as follows:

"That a committee be appointed, consisting of one clerical and one lay delegate from each State, to consider of and report such alterations in the liturgy as shall render it consistent with the American Revolution and the constitutions of the respective States; and such further alterations in the liturgy as it may be advisable for this Convention to recommend to the consideration of the church here represented."

The Sixth Fundamental Principle, to which Virginia had also demurred, was explained as meaning that the deputies were to vote by States and not individually.

These Fundamental Principles, as adopted by this Convention, became the only bond of union acted under by the church until 1789. The general constitution framed at the present Convention was recommendatory only, requiring ratification by the church in the different States before it became obligatory.[1] This was also true of the liturgical alterations, afterward embodied in the "Proposed Book," as well as of the Articles as altered by this Convention. The principle embodied much later in the constitution was here acted upon, namely, that the provisions of the constitution and all alterations of them must be proposed in one General Convention, announced to the church in the various States, and then be ratified by the subsequent General Convention.

On the first day of the Convention a committee was appointed to report a "Draft of an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." To this same committee was subsequently assigned the duty of preparing the necessary and proposed alterations in the liturgy; and later still it was

[1] White, "Memoirs of the Church," pp. 107, 108.

instructed to prepare and report "A Plan for Obtaining the Consecration of Bishops, together with an Address to the Most Rev. the Archbishops and the Right Rev. the Bishops of the Church of England for that Purpose." The chief labors of the Convention thus fell upon the committee, which was composed of those persons whom we have previously indicated as the ruling spirits of the assembly, and of whom Dr. White was unmistakably the leader. By October 1st, which fell on a Saturday, the committee reported on the first two subjects; and the consideration of the liturgical alterations, paragraph by paragraph, was begun, and continued at Monday's session. During the transcription by the clerks of the liturgical alterations on Tuesday, October 4th, the "Ecclesiastical Constitution" was agreed upon, and the address to the English archbishops and bishops was received. This rapid action indicates careful preparation previous to the Convention; but in the case of liturgical alterations a longer time was needed to put them into shape before they could be wisely acted upon. On Wednesday, October 5th, when all the proposed alterations had been read and reviewed, a committee, consisting of Dr. White, Dr. Smith, and Mr. Wharton, was appointed to "publish the Book of Common Prayer with the alterations proposed, as well as those now ratified (in order to render the liturgy consistent with the American Revolution and the constitutions of the respective States),[1] as the alterations and new offices recommended to this church; and that the book be accompanied with a proper preface or address, setting forth the reasons and expediency of the alterations; and that the committee have liberty to make verbal and grammatical corrections, but in such manner as that nothing in form or substance be altered." This resulted later in the publication of the

" Proposed Book." The same committee were " autho
to publish with the Book of Common Prayer such o
reading and singing Psalms, and such Kalends of pr
lessons for the different Sundays and Holy Days thro
out the year, as they may think proper." On the
of adjournment, October 7th, as had been voted by
Convention, the liturgy of the " Proposed Book " was
by Dr. White, and a sermon explanatory of it was prea
by Dr. Smith, who was the chief promoter of the cha
proposed.

These changes were much greater than had
anticipated; but still they were not so great as t
which appeared in the " Proposed Book." Dr. Smit
his sermon, had said of the committee on alterations i
liturgy, of which he was the ruling member,[1] " We s
arrested, as it were, at an awful distance. It appe
almost sacrilege to approach the porch, or lift a han
touch a single part, to polish a single corner, or to cl
from its rust of years." But this proved to be only the
oric appropriate to the occasion. The committee's r
included (besides the changes of phraseology in

also, for the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving day. embodying these changes in the "Proposed Book," s further modifications were introduced, although it h been provided that "nothing in form or substance altered." As the book was never adopted, never ev achieved a passing popularity, and would not even sell, may seem needless to have dwelt upon it at all. It forn however, too significant an indication of the temper of t times, whose dangers the wiser counsels of more sob men averted,[1] to be lightly passed by.

The really great work of this Convention was "A Ge eral Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Protestant Episco Church in the United States of America."[2] It had be anticipated in the Fundamental Principles of 1784, and was changed in several features in 1789; but it is the ro out of which the constitutional system of the church h grown, and exhibits the foundation-principles of the prese ecclesiastical organization. It is preëminently the wo of Dr. White, who was engaged upon it while Dr. Smi was busied with the liturgical changes. It embodied t principle of one church for the country, to act throu deputies from the churches in the several States in t

[1] See White, "Memoirs of the Church," p. 115 *et seq.*, where I White fully criticises and explains the course, which he deemed unwise a unjustifiable, taken in this matter, which, otherwise, from his member on the committee of publication, he might have been deemed to approve.

ficial precedence. It provided that clergymen
order should be amenable to the authority of
ition of their own State, in regard to suspension
d; an article strenuously opposed by the Eng
s, as well as by Bishop Seabury, as seeming to
subjection of the highest order of the ministry
er orders and to the laity (a view which Dr. Wl
ned). It provided for the ratification of the B
mon Prayer as altered; and set forth a Declarati
ally in the form at present in use, to be signed
minister before receiving permission to officiate
urch. This constitution, when ratified by
in the different States, was declared fundamen
alterable, save by the General Convention.
whole business of forming a constitution before
on of the episcopate was justified by the convict
practical necessity.[1] It was done to prevent
in different localities from taking different cou
esiastical legislation (and that without schism,
vas as yet no ecclesiastical bond of union); to p
he adoption of different liturgies, different artic
piscopate from different sources; in fact, to prev

Dr. White's own expression, "far from being certain that the same event would have been produced by any other plan that might have been devised." The adoption of the constitution with amendments at the General Convention of 1789 created a church, as the simultaneous adoption of the Constitution of the United States created a nation.

The Address to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England,[1] asking for the episcopal succession at their hands, was also a most important act of the Convention.

The letter of Bishop Seabury to Dr. Smith had been laid before the delegates, as the author had requested, and its sentiments created some warmth of expression from those of conflicting opinions. The fact that the bishop and the Connecticut clergy had been invited to the Convention made it eminently proper that the communication should be heard; and when this was pointed out the commotion subsided. The letter, however, had a decided effect on the Address to the English bishops. "The majority of the Convention certainly thought it a matter of choice, and even required by decency, to apply, in the first instance, to the church of which the American had been, till now, a part;" although there had been a repugnance on the part of some to applying where a refusal had been so constant, and, in Bishop Seabury's case, so recent. The door was open for a Scotch consecration; but, in view of the sentiments of Bishop Seabury's letter, those inclined to enter it were convinced that it would be better and more available to apply where there would be less stiffness on the points objected to by Bishop Seabury, who reflected the Scotch view of the matter. There was great unanim-

The Address was written by Dr. White, and reflect
character in the dignity and courtesy of its style, an
absence, in all its earnestness and anxiety, of flatte
fawning. It asked what he felt the church had a rig
demand. It referred with gratitude to the past and po
out the necessities of the present. "The petition whic
offer to your venerable Body is," it stated, "that, fr
tender regard to the religious interests of thousands i
rising empire, professing the same religious principles
the Church of England, you will be pleased to confe
episcopal character on such persons as shall be re
mended by this church in the several States here r
sented." It said, in relation to the political side o
subject, "Our civil rulers cannot officially join in
present application; but we are far from apprehendin
opposition or even displeasure of any of those hono
personages; and in this business we are justified by
constitutions of the States, which are the foundation

a respectful address to the civil rulers of the States in which they respectively reside, to certify that the said application is not contrary to the constitution and laws of the same." In consequence of this, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, and Virginia, through their chief officers, gave the desired certification; and the names of Charles Biddle, George Clinton, and Patrick Henry were found appended to the documents from their respective States.

John Adams was then minister to the court of St. James; and his assistance, not officially as foreign minister, but as a private individual of commanding position, was sought in the matter. Though he had no connection with the Episcopal Church, he had previously interested himself in obtaining ordination from the Danish bishops for several candidates for orders[1] who could not, after the acknowledgment of American independence, obtain ordination from the Bishop of London. He had succeeded then, and he now presented the Address of the Convention to the Archbishop of Canterbury in person, and accompanied it with such explanations and documents as were calculated to forward the object. He afterward took occasion to express his satisfaction that he had been able to be of service in the matter. Undoubtedly he was of great service. Official station had then, as now, great weight in England; and the fact that Mr. Adams was a Congregationalist gave assurance that no opposition of a civil nature was likely to be aroused by granting the

nd. It then adjourned (October 7th), to m
Philadelphia June 20, 1786.[1]
ddress was at once sent to England. Much so
s felt as to its reception. Dr. Provoost, who
t patriot and a lukewarm divine, took counsel
ıdices and his fears, and apprehended m
n from Bishop Seabury, which apprehension
reluctant to express. He was not an unkin
ıt Seabury's service as chaplain in the roya
d his English pension in consequence, toget
intense Toryism, were an offense to him.
vas heightened by Seabury's acceptance of ord
nonjurors, whose political views he equ
and whose whole ecclesiastical attitude
ıial to him. He was a man of learning, hav
d at the first commencement of King's (Colum
n 1758, when he transferred his membership fr
h Reformed Church, in which he had been b
piscopal Church, of which Dr. Johnson, the pr
s so ardent an advocate. He afterward stud
Peter's College, Cambridge, England, and
deacon and priest in London (1766). At o
turn, he was made an assistant minister of Tri
New York, from which position he retired du

are anxious to give every proof not only of our brotherly affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterward may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or discipline."

The resolutions passed concerning this letter expressed the trust that the Convention would be able to give such information to the venerable prelates as would satisfy them that no essential deviation from the Church of England had been adopted or intended; and a committee, consisting of Drs. Smith, White, and Wharton, and Messrs. James Parker and Cyrus Griffin, was appointed to draft a reply to the letter.

The allusion in the letter to private information of an alarming character seems to have stirred up some bitter feeling among the members of the Convention in regard to the New England element, known to be in opposition. A motion to require the clergy present to declare by whom they were ordained, and one to pledge the Convention to do no act that should imply the validity of ordinations made by Dr. Seabury, were made and lost. But other resolutions were adopted recommending that "clergymen professing canonical subjection to any bishop in any State or country, other than those bishops who may be duly settled in the States represented in the Convention, be not received to a pastoral charge"; and, again, that no "minister receiving ordination from any bishop residing in America, during the application now pending to the English bishops for English consecration, be admitted as minister in the States represented in the Convention."

Bishop Seabury. Dr. White, the author of the
disclaimed any such intention. Dr. Robert Smit
course, alluded to him in offering the second. It i
fair to remember, however, that in addition to the irrit
produced by the attitude of Connecticut and Massa
setts, whose clergy, it was feared (though wrongly),
trying to defeat the application to England, great an
existed lest a seeming approbation of the Scotch c
cration should itself defeat the application for En
orders; the relation of the English hierarchy to the
jurors being what it was.

A memorial from the church in New Jersey, sai
have been drawn up by Dr. Chandler, was receive
referred "to the first General Convention which
assemble with sufficient powers to determine on the sa
This memorial approved of the application to Englan
consecration, and of the Address in which it had
made. It also approved of the alterations in the lit
in respect to its political changes, which had al
been adopted. But it strongly objected to the swe
changes in the "Proposed Book" yet under considera
as unseasonable and irregular, and likely to occ
dissension and schisms, and urged that these n
prove a fatal obstacle to obtaining bishops of the E

nounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry on any clergyman."

The "Proposed Book" was authorized to be used by the church in those States which adopted it, until the first General Convention, with sufficient power to ratify a Book of Common Prayer, should assemble. The moral and doctrinal requirements for candidates for ordination and parochial cures were also strengthened and emphasized.

The churches in the several States represented in the convention were recommended to authorize their deputies to the next General Convention, after a bishop or bishops had been obtained, to ratify a general constitution.

The draft of the reply to the English bishops, composed by Dr. William Smith and amended by Hon. John Jay, was then read and adopted. It acquiesced in the wisdom of the bishops' hesitation to act while doubts existed concerning the maintenance of the same essential articles of faith and discipline with the Church of England. At the same time it expressed satisfaction that no other obstacle was likely to stand in the way, as they trusted that the proposed ecclesiastical constitution and Book of Common Prayer, which were now sent, would afford a full answer to every question which could arise on the subject. They therefore renewed their application with gratitude and confidence, and asked for a speedy answer, as in certain States the church had proceeded to the election of persons to be sent for consecration, and others might soon proceed

had proposed amendments. De
New York held its decision in s
accepted it with the rejection o
the repelling of evil-doers from
Carolina alone had adopted it ent
lukewarm, and Connecticut was a
state of opinion, concessions to th
lish bishops were not difficult.

In the meantime three bisho
addition to Dr. William Smith, th
land. Dr. Griffith had been elec
vention of Virginia (held in Ma
State; Rev. Samuel Provoost (m
three weeks later by the Univers
been elected Bishop of New Yo
the church in that State (held Jun
White had, at a special Conventi
(September 14th), been chosen Bi

When the Convention assembl
ber 10th, Virginia was not repres
ing written Dr. White that he th
to a seat without a new election.
the States represented in the Jun
sented here, and there were only

fairly represented the opinions, and more than represented the ability, of the clergy of the several States. Rev. Dr. Provoost, Bishop elect of New York, was made chairman in the absence of Dr. Griffith, and the Convention was declared an adjourned meeting of the Philadelphia Convention. The letter of the archbishop and the accompanying act of Parliament were at once considered, and referred to an able committee, whose report was established as "An Act of the General Convention." In this act the committee acceded to the urgent request of the archbishops and restored the Apostles' Creed to its integrity. They also adopted and inserted the Nicene Creed, and made the necessary changes involved in the preface, the rubrics, and the Articles of the "Proposed Book." The Athanasian Creed was rejected almost unanimously.[1] The form to be subscribed by bishops, priests, and deacons concerning the Prayer-book was accommodated to the present state of affairs; and the English Prayer-book, as amended in its political parts by the previous Convention, was made the standard until a General Convention with full powers had acted on the liturgy. Section VIII. of the constitution, as amended by the last Convention, having obviated the objection of the English prelates in regard to the position of the bishops, was retained; and bishops elect seeking consecration were empowered to sign either the ecclesiastical constitution or the "Act of this Convention" now forwarded to the bishops in England, together with a letter of thanks for their action, and signed by Samuel Provoost, president. On a call of the States represented, to ascertain

[1] Bishop Seabury had, in correspondence with Dr. White, urged the insertion of the Athanasian Creed, even if the use of it were left optional, or the damnatory clauses omitted. Dr. Parker, of Massachusetts, who usually agreed with him, opposed its insertion, unless the said clauses were omitted; and he demurred to the insertion of the "descent into hell" in the Apostles' Creed, affirming it to be a late addition to the creed, and misleading in its phraseology. (See "Half-century of Legislation," vol. iii., p. 326.)

whether bishops had been elected by the respective Conventions of the same, New York responded with the name of the Rev. Samuel Provoost, D.D., and Pennsylvania with the name of the Rev. William White, D.D., as bishops elect. Their testimonials were signed by the members of the Convention in the form prescribed by the archbishops; and as it appeared that the Convention of Virginia, not represented, had elected and recommended the Rev. Dr. David Griffith as bishop, his testimonials were also signed. A committee of correspondence was appointed, with power to call a General Convention at Philadelphia when a majority of them should see fit; and the Convention then adjourned *sine die*, on October 11th.[1] As Bishop George Burgess, of Maine, at a later period remarked, "No assembly of the American church has occupied itself with transactions of greater pregnancy than those which, in October, 1786, were settled by the voices of twenty men in two days." Their rapidity of action was, however, not haste; it was the result of long and earnest premeditation.

It brought forth immediate fruit. Three weeks after the Convention adjourned, namely, on November 2, 1786, the two Bishops elect of New York and Pennsylvania embarked for England on the packet "Speedy." Dr. Griffith, of Virginia, did not accompany them, being detained by private circumstances; and it is known that poverty prevented his taking the voyage both now and at a later period. He was never consecrated. Drs. White and Provoost reached Falmouth in less than three weeks, landing November 20th. They were in London November 29th, and waited at once on Mr. Adams, the American minister. His cordiality and interest were abundantly

[1] The records of the Convention say nothing of Dr. William Smith's application for testimonials as Bishop of Maryland. If made, it was not granted; and Dr. Smith had no vote in the Convention, because there was no lay delegate from Maryland, which made the representation of the State incomplete.

manifested, though he had no personal interest in
Episcopal Church. He accompanied the bishops ele
Lambeth, the day after their call upon him, and prese
them in person to the Archbishop of Canterbury, an
the words of Bishop White,[1] "in this particular, an
every instance in which his personal attentions coul
either of use or an evidence of his respect and kind
continued to manifest his concern for the interests
church of which he was not a member." Dr. Lo
Bishop of London, was also visited in his feebleness;
after many interviews with the bishops and other cl
Dr. White could write, early in December, to the stan
committee of Pennsylvania, that there was "not the
doubt of our church's having retained the essential
trines of the gospel as held by the Church of Engla
This was predicated of the position held by the "Prop
Book," as amended by the insertion of the unmuti
Apostles' and Nicene creeds. Concerning the omissi
the Athanasian Creed, the Archbishop of Canterbury s
to Dr. White, "We sincerely wish that you had ret
the Athanasian Creed, but I cannot say I am uneas
the subject, for you have retained the doctrine of
your liturgy; and, as to the creed itself, I suppose
thought it not suited to the use of a congregation."[2]
fine, the cordiality and graciousness of the receptio
the two American divines could not have been [illegible]

opportunity of serving the interests of religion."

At last the prescribed formalities were completed, and the eventful day, so long desired, dawned. It was Septuagesima Sunday, February 4, 1787. A little company assembled in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, consisting chiefly of the archbishop's family and household, together with the officiating clergy. At Dr. White's special request, his old rector, Dr. Duché, whom he had now displaced in the rectorship of Christ Church, was present, a token of good-fellowship amid differences so characteristic of all the coming bishops' course. The sermon was preached by Dr. Drake, a chaplain of the archbishop, on 1 Corinthians xiv. 10, and, as Dr. White relates, "had very little reference to the peculiarity of the occasion." Another chaplain read the prayers. It seemed like a private service of the archbishop, with the consecration added. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. John Moore, was the consecrator. The Archbishop of York, Dr. William Markham, was the presenter. The Bishop of Bath and Wells,[1] Dr. Charles More, and the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. John Wickliffe, joined in the imposition of hands. Dr. White, though the younger man and clergyman, and whose election to the bishopric was subsequent to that of Dr. Provoost, was ordained first,[2] because of the English custom of awarding priority to the one who had longest been Doctor of Divinity. Bishop White's doctorate had preceded Bishop Provoost's by several years, and thus he became the first bishop of the English succession in the

[1] As the Bishop of Bath and Wells had been the most strenuous in his insistence on restoring the omitted article of the Apostles' Creed in the "Proposed Book," it was particularly gratifying to the new bishops to have, in his participation in the service, an evidence of his satisfaction and confidence.

[2] See Perry, "History of American Episcopal Church," vol. ii., p. 74, note.

United States, and patriarch of the Protestant Epis

is nothing I have more at heart than to see the members of our communion throughout the United States connected in one system of ecclesiastical government," and showing a disposition to accommodate the revision of the liturgy to a general sentiment, stood firmly by the principles of the ecclesiastical constitution already proposed, especially its feature of lay representation. He pointed out that the approbation of all the Conventions southward, and the acquiescence of the English archbishops and bishops who had consecrated the authors of it, indicated that union could only come along that constitutional line. There were also very friendly and earnest letters from Dr. Leaming of Connecticut and Dr. Parker of Boston, all contemplating union, but not silent concerning obstacles in the way.

It had been recognized by the Connecticut clergy, just after the consecrations in England, what a strong advantage would be conferred on the constitutional party by the presence of two bishops in America with the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury's official act and sanction. They met, therefore, at Wallingford, February 27th, on the call of Bishop Seabury, about three weeks after the English consecrations had taken place, and when the returning prelates were a week out on their return voyage. Then and there they chose, first, Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, and on his declining, Rev. Richard Mansfield, of Derby, and on his refusal, Rev. Abraham Jarvis, as coadjutor Bishop of Connecticut. There was no need of an extra bishop, save, to use the words of Rev. Samuel (afterward Bishop) Jarvis, "to obtain the canonical number of bishops in New England of the Scottish line." Bishop Seabury was very frank about the matter; and in the letter which he wrote to the Scotch Bishop Skinner,

apprehensive that, should it please God to take me out of the world, the same spirit of innovation in the government and liturgy of the church would be apt to rise in this State which has done so much mischief in our neighborhood. . . . Should this see become vacant, the clergy may find themselves under the fatal necessity of falling under the Southern Establishment." Bishop Skinner replied, on the part of his Episcopal brethren, deprecating the proposed action, but indicating a willingness to act in case "these new bishops either refuse to hold communion with you, or grant it only on terms with which you cannot in conscience comply." [1]

Measures were also started to secure the election of Rev. Samuel Parker, of Boston, to the bishopric of Massachusetts and New Hampshire (in which region there were now six clergymen), to be similarly consecrated, so that in New England the Episcopal college in the Scottish line might be complete. The correspondence with Bishops White and Provoost was conducted with this proposed final recourse in mind. It came to nothing. There was, after all, a supreme sense of the importance of union, and a desire for it, in all. The efforts of Seabury, Leaming, and Parker were bent toward making the settlement one by the bishops. White and Provoost, and their followers, were committed to making it an act of the church, represented by all orders of the clergy, together with the laity. The constant plea of New England was, Let the three bishops meet and arrange matters; and when Bishop Seabury made his very last proposition for a consultation, in a long communication to Bishop White, dated June 29, 1789, it was for the bishops to come together, with certain of their clergy as proctors; but no faintest indication appeared of the recognition of the laity in the matter. To have

[1] "Life of Samuel Seabury, D.D.," pp. 293–298.

question.

Whether cognizant of what had occurred in Connecticut or not, Bishop White was steadfast in his refusal to have Dr. Griffith, of Virginia, consecrated in this country before the full number of three bishops should have been completed in the English line. Virginia had suggested it, and in the inability of Dr. Griffith (by reason of personal poverty and the slackness of subscriptions to meet his expenses) to go to England, the irregularity might have been overlooked. But instead of this, Bishop White urged upon Mr. Parker, of Boston, that a suitable presbyter be selected for Bishop of Massachusetts and sent to England for consecration. He assigned as a reason "the effecting of a junction with our brethren of Connecticut, who would thus have a bishop of the English succession of their own ecclesiastical views, and with the three thus consecrated Bishop Seabury could coöperate." In the meantime Bishop Seabury was magnifying his office in his diocese. He held many and large confirmations. He ordained a number of priests and deacons. In September, 1787, he consecrated the new Church of St. James at New London, of which he was rector, with great pomp, wearing his scarlet doctor's hood, and, for the first time, a miter, which he had imported, and which he wore afterward only on very stately occasions.[1] He caused a temporary coolness between himself and Mr. Parker by seeming to assume too impressive a manner, and acted at this time as if impelled to vindicate an office and authority whose validity Bishop

[1] "He did not use the miter at first, nor did he bring one with him when he came home after his consecration; but, when he found many of the non-Episcopal ministers about him disposed to adopt the title of 'bishop' in derision of his claims, he adopted a miter as a badge of office which they would hardly be disposed to imitate." (See Hallam, "Annals of St. James's Church, New London," p. 73.)

was everywhere an unhappy time. The theological w were troubled, and not by the stirring of an angel.

Only two months after the consecration of Bishop bury's church, King's Chapel, the oldest Episcopal ch in Boston, became irrevocably Unitarian. This ch was not so much an illustration of the transformatic species as an ecclesiastical analogy to the habits o hermit-crab. A new occupant of an old instit changed its character while retaining its form. Wher British troops occupied Boston they turned the Old S Meeting-house into a riding-school. After their depa the dispossessed congregation moved bodily into K Chapel, and worshiped there until their own building c be restored; the rector and most of the congregation o chapel having migrated to Nova Scotia on the evacu of the city by the British troops. During this occup by the Congregationalists the churchwardens invited James Freeman, a graduate of Harvard College in 17 young man of twenty-three, to officiate as a lay read six months. He was greatly esteemed and beloved at Easter, 1783, was chosen pastor, and accepted the tion, having been informed that "the proprietors co to such alterations in the service as are made by Rev Parker, and leave the use of the Athanasian Creed at discretion." The spirit of Unitarianism was already

convention, before which it was
further effort was made either by
people. On Sunday, October 18,
service, the senior warden, acting (
Congregational principles) for the c
Mr. Freeman to be "rector, minister
ing elder, and public teacher" of
breach was complete. The first l
organized in the building, and contin
erty, of the first Episcopal church;
largely out of the material of the I
claim of the Unitarian society to
property was finally sustained by t
not at the time unresisted. The
clear on the part of certain of the
the chapel. The few Episcopal cle
vicinity and other parts of the cou
White, joined vigorously in the pr
procedure added fuel to the flame
citement.

The political condition of the co
disturbed, and affected the atmosp
well as of the State. The year
Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts, a

the national enthusiasm. One of their first acts was to prepare and send an address of congratulation to the President of the United States.

This Convention falls into two parts, the original assembly and its adjourned meeting in September. The first session was chiefly given to securing the union of all the Episcopal churches in the country; the second to such important legislation as a full representation of the whole

It remained to be seen whether the Bishop of Connecticut would grasp it, seeing that the obnoxious lay element formed part of the Convention which solicited his presence. Even before this vote the Convention had practically settled the point of the validity of the Scotch consecration by admitting as deputies men like the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, of Pennsylvania, who had been ordained by Bishop Seabury. The Convention, however, went much further than either this act or the resolution recorded. It adopted the resolutions reported by the committee of the whole, to whom had been referred the "Act of the Clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire." These resolutions affirmed:

"First, That a complete order of bishops, derived as well under the English as the Scots line of episcopacy, existed in the United States in the persons of the Bishops of Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut [who were mentioned by name].

"Second, That these three bishops are competent to every proper act and duty of the episcopal office, including the consecration of other bishops and the ordaining of priests and deacons, and for government under the canons and constitution of the church, as such are or may be determined.

"Third, That the just and reasonable requests of any of the sister-churches in the United States should, as far as possible, be met by the Convention; and therefore,

"Fourth, That Bishops White and Provoost are requested to unite with Bishop Seabury in consecrating Rev. Edward Bass, as requested by the 'Act of the Clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.'

"Fifth, That the Convention will address the English archbishops and bishops with a view to obviating any difficulty which may exist in regard to such action."

The unanimous adoption of these resolutions disclosed the mind of the Convention in regard to Bishop Seabury. It was, however, a cause of embarrassment to Bishop White, who, as chairman of the Convention, could neither speak nor vote. No one was more identified with the spirit and intent of the resolutions than he. In regard to the act requested he had very serious misgivings. At the time of his consecration it had been the purpose of the archbishop to consecrate three bishops for America, in order to complete the canonical number necessary for the regular consecration of future bishops. On account of the absence of Dr. Griffith only two were consecrated; and Bishop White felt that the purpose of establishing the canonical number in the English succession ought to be fulfilled before an episcopal consecration could be ventured upon. To his mind that purpose implied a promise that it should be so. Bishop Provoost considered the promise not only implied, but pledged. Stoutly opposed to the Scotch succession, he had no hesitation in refusing the Convention's request. But White was, of all men, most anxious for the union of Seabury with the church. He was fully convinced of the validity of his orders, and yet he could not seem to disregard the intention of those at whose hands he had received consecration. The relations of the English bishops to the nonjurors were most delicate. They could not legally recognize those who were proscribed by the state. He did not wish, therefore, that they should be asked to decide the question started by the Convention. Delicacy forbade its being brought before them. In justice to them no consecration ought to take place until three bishops in the Anglican line could take part in it; otherwise they might be brought into political complications at home. The mind of the committee,

for union. They went further still. They enacted a body of ten canons,[1] which showed marked respect to the Episcopal office. They adopted the constitution, with such alterations in that of 1786 as allowed (in Section II.) a representation of a church by clerical members only, and (in Section III.) provided for a special and separate House of Bishops when there should be three of that order. This was to exist as a house of revision for acts passed in the General Convention, and its non-concurrence could defeat legislation unless overcome by a three-fifths vote of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. This, though it seems little in comparison with subsequent legislation, was a distinct advance on the positions of the past.

The Address to the archbishops and bishops of the English Church, asking for their concurrence in the proposed consecration of a bishop for Massachusetts and New Hampshire by the three bishops, contained a full account of all the letters and proceedings connected with the request, as the best argument for granting it, and it was officially signed and sent.

Dr. Griffith, the first Bishop elect of Virginia, had died a few days after the assembling of the Convention, and his funeral had been attended by all its members. Dr. William Smith, as was inevitable, preached the funeral sermon, and the whole proceeding tended to subdue and mollify any recalcitrant feeling.

Having done so much, by resolutions and addresses, by the enactment of canons and the establishment of a constitution, the Convention determined on a recess to see if union could not be actually and at once accomplished. A proper committee was appointed to forward the address to the English prelates, to send the necessary answers to Dr.

[1] See Appendix C.

'arker and the Eastern clergy, to answer Dr. Seabury's
:tters, and to forward to him, as well as to the archbishops,
ıe minutes of the Convention, and to notify him and the
:astern clergy, not represented in the Convention, of the
me and place of its adjournment, and to invite them to
ttend at its next session. The Convention then adjourned,
ıugust 8th, to meet September 29th, requesting Bishop
'rovoost, who had hitherto

South, and perchance, after his death, at the North; and he could try, at least, to mold its manners and amend its speech.

He wrote at once to Bishop White on receipt of the communication, "I will, God permitting, most willingly join you at your adjourned Convention the 29th of September." He promised, if possible, to bring a couple of clerical deputies, and expressed himself cordially to both his correspondents.

Bishop Provoost, on the other hand, was much offended and dismayed. He declared that the New York deputies had gone contrary to their instructions in favoring the constitutional provision allowing a church to be represented by clerical deputies only, and by signing the Address to the English prelates, asking sanction for allowing the bishop of Scotch consecration to act as the third bishop in consecrating Mr. Bass. He declared that the absolution of the archbishop would not absolve his conscience, and expressed alarm lest the constitution of the church were in danger. He would not preach before the adjourned Convention, nor even attend it.

That Convention reassembled Wednesday, September 30th. Bishop Seabury was on hand with two clerical delegates, Abraham Jarvis and Bela Hubbard, from Connecticut. Dr. Samuel Parker was present also, as deputy from the churches of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. All New England was thus represented. The Convention at once declared that, for a better promotion of a union of this church with the Eastern churches, the general constitution was still open to amendment; and a committee was appointed to confer with the deputies of the Eastern churches concerning such union. As a result, Section III. of the constitution was so amended as to give the House of Bishops "a right to originate and pro-

pose" acts for the concurrence of the House of Deputies, and also "a negative on the acts of the House of Deputies, unless adhered to by them by a four-fifths vote." It was also resolved to advise the several State Conventions that the next General Convention would consider the propriety of conferring on the House of Bishops a full veto power over the proceedings of the House of Deputies. This occurred on the third day of the Convention (October 2); and on the same day the Bishop of Connecticut, with the two clerical delegates from that State, together with the clerical delegate from Massachusetts and New Hampshire, signed the following statement: "We do hereby agree to the constitution of the church, as modified this day in Convention." This act occurred in the State-house, where the Constitution of the United States had been previously signed; the Convention having the day before removed its sitting from Christ Church to that place with the permission of the president of the State.

Thus, by the ordering of Providence, out from the walls already consecrated to political liberty and union there came forth a national church committed to conserve religious liberty by its union, and engaged to discard and disown the perpetuation and incorporation of separate ecclesiastical cliques, set to emphasize disagreement and to stir up strife. The whole history of the proceedings which led up to this happy consummation indicates the nature of the ecclesiastical organization to which our fathers set their seal. Its realization would have been impossible without the submerging of mutual differences and the recognition of mutual rights. Theirs was in its true sense the church idea of unity regnant amid diversity, in contradistinction to the sect idea of unity submerged in diversity. This idea it guarded in its constitution and guaranteed to all

of its law no proscription of parties is valid while those parties recognize its law. The divergent tendencies existent in those who framed the ecclesiastical body have often since been developed in extreme antagonism; but no right of excision of one party by another is recognized by the constitution which binds them both together. Loyalty is not measured by opinions, nor dependent upon theories. Ecclesiastical and theological variations are legally permissible so long as the creeds and the constitution are not contradicted. Liberty and union are the watchwords of the church as well as of the State.

The day after the accession of New England to the church the Convention met in two houses, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies. Three bishops now existed, and the absence of one of them was not held to obviate the right of the other two to meet apart from the Lower House. On Monday, the 5th of October, 1789, the House of Bishops held its first session in the committee-room of the House of Assembly. The rule prepared by Bishop White was adopted, that the bishop first consecrated should preside; and Bishop Seabury was in consequence the chairman of the House of two. There, then, the two, who met for the first time in this Convention, sat together at last to consult and to contemplate each other, the ecclesiastical anatomist confronting the ecclesiastical physiologist; one insistent on the accuracy and integrity of the frame, the other intent on adjusting tissue, muscle, nerve, and sinew to the national environment; each bent on securing certain functions deemed indispensable for the body, each willing, if it must be, to yield preferences which were yet dispensable. From convictions and conceptions so different, had it not been for the genuine goodness and courtesy of both, there could only have issued contention and strife. As it proved, the

peace and permanence which followed were quite as much the result of moral earnestness and spiritual devotion as of polemic argument or ecclesiastical assertion.[1]

The chief business of both houses was now the final preparation of a Prayer-book. No effort for the acceptance of the "Proposed Book" was made. Dr. Parker, of Massachusetts, representing as he did the general sentiment at the North, though one of the few who had largely used the "Proposed Book," urged that the English Prayer-book should be made the ground of the proceedings, without any reference to the book tentatively set forth in 1785. This course was not formally adopted, the resolutions being so worded as to imply that there was no book of authority in existence. This Bishop White deemed discourteous to the "Proposed Book," which had been recommended, and in one service used, by a previous Convention; and dangerous, as it involved liberty for a complete and independent construction of a liturgy, instead of the alteration of one already existent. It also changed the force of a negative of the bishops to any proposed office. For the veto of a wholly new office involved the exclusion of any office for that occasion; whereas the veto of a proposed alteration of an existing office would simply have the force of retaining the office in its original form. All danger was averted by the general disposition of the committee to depart as little as possible from the English Prayer-book, though theoretically they proceeded to make a book, not to alter one.

The preparation of a Prayer-book was assigned to five committees: one on the Calendar and Tables of Lessons,

[1] Outside the Convention there was a threatened disturbance of the harmony within from the objections of some deputies to Bishop Seabury as the recipient of a pension as former chaplain in the British army. Bishop White

with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels; another on the Morning and Evening Service; a third on the Litany and Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings; a fourth on the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion; and a fifth to report in what manner the Psalms should be used. The reports of each committee, when adopted, were transmitted to the House of Bishops, from whence they were returned with amendments. From the bishops were received, in the first instance, the various special offices to be adopted for use in the American church. The alterations, other than those of a political nature, were mainly verbal, together with the omission of repetitions; the addition of Selections of Psalms, to be used at the discretion of the minister; an Office for the Visitation of Prisoners, from the Irish Prayer-book; a service of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Fruits of the Earth, from the "Proposed Book"; and an Order of Family Prayer. Besides these, Bishop Seabury secured in the Order for the administration of the Holy Communion the restoration to the Consecration Prayer of the Oblation and Invocation found in King Edward VI.'s First Prayer-book, and retained essentially in the Scotch office.

The deliberations were conducted with great harmony; and the result was the setting forth of the Book of Common Prayer, to be in use from the 1st of October, 1790; which book was in use, with certain subsequent additions to its offices, until displaced by the revision which was brought to a close by the ratification of the Convention of 1892. The adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, though proposed by the bishops, was referred to the consideration of a subsequent Convention, and they were not established until 1801. The Athanasian Creed was rejected altogether by the House of Deputies, though Bishop White, who disliked it, and avowed his purpose

never to read it, was willing to concede to the Bishop and clergy of Connecticut the right to print it in the Prayer-book, with a rubric permissive of its use. The Lower

show clearly that the changes involved were not co
ered to be inconsistent with the declaration, in the a
rable preface,[1] that "this church is far from intendin
depart from the Church of England in any essential
of doctrine, discipline, or worship, or further than
circumstances require"; they are merely special insta
of the exercise of the right claimed, in the same pre
"to establish such other alterations and amendments th
as might be deemed proper."

This same sentiment appeared later, when, in the
vention of 1814, the identity of the Protestant Epis
Church with the Church of England was declared, in w
declaration it is said: "The church conceives herse
professing and acting on the principles of the Chur
England; . . . but it would be contrary to fact were
one to infer that the discipline exercised in this churc
that any proceedings therein, are at all dependent o
will of the civil or ecclesiastical authority of any fo
country." The Convention thus felt amply compete
restoring to the Apostles' Creed the clause concernin
descent into hell, to prefix the rubric allowing the

set forth; the canons were increased by the enactment of eight, requiring the exclusive use of the Prayer-book as established, stating the duty of the clergy in regard to episcopal visitations, directing the censure of notorious crimes and scandals, enforcing the sober conversation required in ministers, providing for the due celebration of Sundays, the preparation of a regular list of the clergymen of the church, and giving notice of the induction and dismission of incumbents.[1]

By far the most influential and significant change in the Prayer-book was by way of addition. It occurred in the most sacred office of all, the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion, and was the work of Bishop Seabury, being the result of his concordat with the Scotch bishops, his consecrators. It consisted in placing the words of Oblation and Invocation immediately after the words of Institution, giving a completeness to the office which not only adds greatly to its solemnity and beauty, but also gives clearness to the doctrine embodied in it. The Invocation comes after the Oblation, and clearly discriminates

[1] One or two minor changes in the service are indicative of special and local consideration. The Litany is appointed to be read after the Prayer for the President. This is said to have been the act of Rev. Dr. William Smith, to whom the preparation of the book was intrusted. The reason given was that President Washington never attended church of an afternoon, and so would never hear the prayer if the Litany came in before it. Another reason may have well suggested the unauthorized change, the fact being that, unlike the English service, there is no suffrage for the President in the American Litany, and no prayers for rulers in the "Antecommunion Office," save in the Prayer for the Church Militant, not always used. To secure constant prayer for the President the collect must invariably form part of the Order of Morning Prayer.

The rubric allowing the use of the "Antecommunion Office" "where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said," as well as "at the right side of the Table," is said to have been put in for the accommodation of Bishop White, the chancel of St. Peter's Church, where he officiated, being at the east end of the church, while the reading-desk and pulpit are at the west end. To be saved the conspicuous walk along the broad aisle would be consonant with the shyness and modesty of Bishop White, and so the rubric was made read as at present.

: is by word and act the practical realization
ne of the Catechism and the Articles that "tl
Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supp
an heavenly and spiritual manner."
nvention of 1789 adjourned on the 16th of Oct
appointing a standing committee authorized
d to the bishops the calling of special meetin
ivention, if necessary, and recording their opini
bishops have a right to call special Convention
think proper.
ournment thus found the church fully organize
ention in both houses had established its co
canons, and liturgy. It had not undertaken
functions of bishop, priest, or deacon, but
taken to regulate the exercise of those functio
to established law. Thus the church took t
constitutional, not merely of a traditional bod
rs of all the orders within it were guaranteed a
express enactment. In its creeds and minist
atholic and primitive. As an American ecc
rganization it established its own constitut
s.[1]

[1] Iman, "The Ritual Law of the Church," pp. 379, 380.

CHAPTER XIV.

A PERIOD OF SUSPENDED ANIMATION AND FEEBLE GROWTH (1789–1811).

THE history of the Protestant Episcopal Church after its complete organization in 1789 falls naturally into four periods. The first, extending from 1789 to 1811, may not inaptly be styled "A Period of Suspended Animation"; the second, from 1811 to 1836, "A Period of Aroused Self-consciousness and Aggression"; the third, from 1836 to 1865, "A Period of Internal Conflict," arising from vigorous life and mutual misconception; the fourth, from 1865 to 1895, "A Period of Positive Advance," founded on mutual recognition.

The first period, from 1789 to 1811, which we have entitled "A Period of Suspended Animation," was not without its marked features, nor was it altogether devoid of important action. The bishops and deputies, clerical and lay, did not return to their homes from Philadelphia simply to congratulate themselves that a church had been organized. But the temper of the time and the profound difficulty of adapting new institutions to the crude conditions of a new nation were shared alike by church and state. The political atmosphere was charged with political passion. The administrations of Washington and Adams and Jefferson were rife with personal acrimony and turbulent partisanship. Even the Presidents and their associated counselors did not escape the shafts of malice and detraction. It was

the "storm and stress" period of a young nation which did not understand how to adapt its inherent forces to its new possession of authority, and whose inexperience and unregulated enthusiasm deprived it of the calmness and sobriety which are the issue of established character and recognized achievement. An intense and unusual interest in politics absorbed the public mind. The church was remanded far back into the shadow. The spirit of irreligion and infidelity, moreover, was widespread, a not unnatural result of eight years of war and of the incoming of continental influences. Paine represented the vulgar, and Jefferson the philosophical skepticism. All ranks of life felt the benumbing influence. To hold its own was in itself an achievement for the church.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, notwithstanding its new name and constitution, was popularly regarded as an English institution, and distrusted or hated accordingly. Anti-British feeling, deepened by the unpopular Jay treaty, and culminating in the War of 1812, pervaded the ecclesiastical as well as the political world. The church's salient features, of a graded ministry with a sort of kingly officer in its bishop; a vested clergy, indicative of an aristocracy; and a liturgical worship, suggesting a court ceremonial, and not to be distinguished by the common mind from formal devotion—all these apparent features made a far deeper impression than the fact of lay representation in a triennial Convention, or the restriction of bishops to spiritual jurisdiction. The church, in fine, was misunderstood in its temper and spirit; and had it been at that time understood, it would not have been better liked. The religious sentiment of the day demanded more fervor of personal expression in worship, more definite and insistent statement in doctrine concerning religious experience and metaphysical theology, more direct and intrusive personal dis-

cipline in regard to the conduct of communicants, than the Episcopal Church offered. The prevailing religious temper was largely subjective. The liturgical tone of the church was largely objective. The very features which constitute its abiding value and influence tended in this period to depreciate both.

And it cannot be said that the church was only misunderstood. Its own faults, as well as popular misapprehension, hindered its advance. It was nowhere a type of vigorous earnestness or aggressive spirituality. It was defending its right to be by its antecedents, instead of proving its right to be by its apostolic fervor and practical achievements. It stood by its guns, but it did not train them effectively on the enemies of ungodliness and unbelief. The energy which had brought the child to the birth seemed unequal to its nurture and training. The church's course for a long period was marked with all the obstinacy of a weak mind and a strong constitution. The preaching of the clergy was ethical rather than spiritual. The departure of the Methodists at the South had left the church there in a sort of respectable torpor; and the Congregationalists and Presbyterians of the Western and Middle States stood aloof on both patriotic and ecclesiastical grounds. No summons to the church was likely to be listened to which, like that of the loyalist Bishop Seabury to the patriotic Congregationalists of Connecticut, called on them to "relinquish the errors their fathers had through prejudice most unhappily imbibed."

The records of the General Conventions of this period show the paucity of growth by the slender representation of the churches. The two bishops and twenty clergymen and sixteen laymen of the Convention of 1789 are augmented by only five clergymen and four laymen in the

ence and ungodliness of the tim
Convention of 1793 he referred t
regret, and spoke of union and c
modern spirit of the Chicago Co
Conference. His counsels and h
many earnest clergy and faithful
effective. The spoliation of the
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1802, and seemed to take all hea
The clergy were impoverished
communion-plate and baptismal
out legal warrant, the fate of t
diminished in number, services
old church lost her hold on her
of despair ensued. The bishop
he was, lost heart. He busied
duties, and gradually discontin
diocese. From 1805 to 1812 n
Virginia. When the parishes
mained so for lack of clergy.
that an unworthy one, had tak
Chief-Justice Marshall, a devou
church too far gone ever to be re
liam Meade offered himself at

successor, only seven clergy and eighteen la
esentative of fourteen parishes, could be gather

a was the most flagrant illustration of church d
: other regions of the South were not much mo
In Maryland and Delaware nearly half the pa
e vacant. A spirit of indifference to religion w
re manifest. Never were ministers more neede
·e they more difficult to obtain. There were
s to educate them; and clerical support in pa
en it existed at all, was most meager.
nd in 1792 elected a bishop in the person of Re
Claggett; and the deputies from that State r
is consecration from the whole House of Bisho
corded; and there being the canonical number
iops of the English succession, Bishop Provo
presiding bishop that year, was consecrator) d
an objection to Bishop Seabury's making a fourt
he latter suspected that he would, and warn
'hite of the consequences if he did. These we
hing less than the secession of New England fr
ention. Personally Bishops Provoost and S
met and become acquainted at the meeting

New York, September 12, 1792, all the bishops joining in the imposition of hands, and thus completing the recognition of the Scotch consecration, and joining the orders so obtained to all subsequent American ordinations.

This fifth bishop in the United States, and first of Maryland, could not accomplish much in his diocese. He was laborious and earnest both as a diocesan and a rector, which two offices he held together; and he was born and bred in Maryland, and thoroughly understood the situation, but the crudities of the time and place were not to be conquered in one episcopate. Later, indeed, violent dissensions broke out, after Bishop Claggett had gone to his rest.

In North Carolina, farther south, efforts were made, at the suggestion of Bishop White, to organize the church as early as 1790; but no Convention was held in the State until late in 1793, when three clergymen and three laymen met together at Tawborough. The state of the church was represented by them as "truly deplorable, from the paucity of the clergy and the multiplicity of opposing sectarians." The next year (1794) a constitution was prepared and a bishop elected, namely, the Rev. Charles Pettigrew, who was never consecrated. On his way to the General Convention of 1795 he was stopped by an epidemic fever in Norfolk, and, returning home, shortly after died. The revival of the church in North Carolina was, in consequence, long deferred, and not until 1817 were the foundations laid for its restoration.

South Carolina was more fortunate in regard to an early episcopate, as she had been in the earlier colonial church settlement. The diocese, as we have seen, had entered into alliance with the General Convention on the condition that no bishop was to be established in that State. In 1795

had offered that motion, in order to gain at all hazards adhesion to the National Movement, was elected Bishop of South Carolina, and was consecrated in Christ Church, Philadelphia, September 18th of the same year. He undoubtedly kept the church alive and together; but he was then sixty-five years of age, and could not push matters rapidly in so distrustful a church community. He is said never to have administered the rite of confirmation; and certainly no Conventions were held in the State from 1798 until 1804. In the meantime Bishop Smith had died in 1801. A successor was unanimously elected in 1804, the Rev. Edward Jenkins, D.D., but he declined the honor; and until 1812 the bishopric remained vacant.

Georgia made no sign at this period. Even in 1811, when Rev. Mr. Burton presented to the General Convention a certificate of his appointment as deputy by the wardens and vestry of the Episcopal church in Savannah, the house was compelled to decline admitting him, because the church was not organized in the State, and the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church had not been acceded to. Georgia was not visited by a bishop until 1816, when Bishop Dehon, of South Carolina, went to Savannah to confirm, this being the first confirmation ever held in the State.

In the Northern and Middle States ecclesiastical affairs were in better condition, but they were nowhere flourishing. In Delaware all was very dead. The church held its first Diocesan Convention in 1791, but failed to elect its most distinguished presbyter, Dr. Wharton, to the episcopate. The diocese was only served at long intervals with episcopal ministrations by Bishop White and Bishop Claggett. There was no bishop in Delaware before 1841, until which time it was under the care of the Bishop of Pennsylvania.

The church in Pennsylvania at this period was mostly the church in Philadelphia, and this was flourishing. The character and station of Bishop White, and the dignified edifices of Christ Church parish, caused it to command respect and influence. It was not popular with the middle and lower classes. It was rather the church of the aristocracy. The attendance on its worship of President Washington and many distinguished members of the Continental Congress gave it prestige. This, however, did not bring it into touch with the people. It kept the appearance of a church for a special class, and its regulated worship and unenthusiastic preaching removed it far from the popular sympathy. But Philadelphia was the chief city of the country, and the church in Philadelphia represented a most dignified and influential portion of the community.

In New York, in spite of the wealth and prestige of Trinity parish, there was little ardor of church life. The scars of the Revolution had gone too deep. The bishop had been elected as a patriot, and his national ardor far outran his ecclesiastical zeal. He thought that tolerance to his communion was all that could be expected in view of its political history, and tolerance was consequently all that it received. Neither his ecclesiastical nor theological principles were firm or aggressive. He was a bishop of the type of the Georgian era. His interest was in his studies rather than in his diocese. He was an accomplished scholar and a good botanist; and on the death of his wife, which was to him a most terrible affliction, he resigned his jurisdiction and retired from the duties of his office.[1] This was in

[1] The minute of the House of Bishops in regard to Bishop Provoost's letter informing them of his resignation is as follows:

"The House of Bishops having considered the subject brought before them by the letter of Bishop Provoost, and by the message from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies touching the same, can see no grounds on which

not greatly advance. In fact, Bishop Provoost thoug
would die out with the old colonial families. Such p
ress as was made came rather from the vis inertiæ o
church system than the efficiency of its leadership. S
few ordinations were held; some few churches, as th
Duanesburg (the gift of a private individual, Hon. J
Duane), and that at Ballston, and St. Mark's in the Bo
(erected by Mr. Stuyvesant, a great-grandson of the
Dutch governor), were consecrated.

There was a movement of the Lutherans in the Sta
New York to join the Episcopal Church in 1797; bu
Convention to which the proposition was to be ref
was unfortunately delayed by the prevalence of the y
fever, and could not meet until 1801. At that tim
resignation of Bishop Provoost occupied all the atte
that was given to ecclesiastical affairs, and a great m
ment for church comprehension passed unheeded by
was significant of the tone and temper of the times. A
Bishop Moore was consecrated, Zion Church, the first
lish Lutheran church in New York City, became (re

order, or with the practice of Episcopal churches in any ages, or wi
tenor of the Office of Consecration. Accordingly, while they sympathiz
tenderly with their brother, Bishop Provoost, on account of that ill hea
those melancholy occurrences which have led to the design in questio
judge it to be inconsistent with the sacred trust committed to them to
nize the bishop's act as an effectual resignation of his episcopal jurisd

officers, and congregation) Episcopal, having previously sent out an offshoot in St. Stephen's Church to the same communion. Such movements were, however, due more to the attractiveness of the church, as possessed of an English liturgy, than to the solicitation or interest of the members of the Episcopal community.[1]

The Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D., rector of Trinity Church, was unanimously elected bishop of the diocese the day after Bishop Provoost's resignation. The House of Bishops consented to consecrate him as "assistant or coadjutor bishop during Bishop Provoost's life," demurring to the validity of the resignation, but recognizing the necessity of putting some one at the head of the diocese. The Diocesan Convention, however, had not elected him as coadjutor, and paid no attention to the intimation of the bishops. Bishop Moore always acted, and the "Journal" of the Convention always referred to him, as "head of the church in New York." He was a man of mild manners and of gentle speech, thoroughly Christian in his temper as in his life; one who without aggressiveness commended the church in his own person to the confidence of the public; not fitted so much to arouse enthusiasm as to win

[1] The trend toward the Episcopal Church among the Germans in New York was fostered, if not started, by the determination of the Lutherans to conduct their services in the German language only. The children, growing up to speak English, were impatient of the custom. When, in 1797, "The Trustees for the English Lutheran Church in the City of New York" were incorporated, and had informed the evangelical Ministerium meeting at Rhinebeck of their action, and the reasons for it, the Lutheran Consistory, in set resolutions, declared "that they do not look upon persons who are not yet communicants of a Lutheran church as apostates in case they join an English Episcopalian church," but "that this Consistory will never acknowledge a new-erected Lutheran church merely English, in places where members may partake of the services of the said Episcopal Church." This resolve they based on the "intimate connection subsisting between the English Episcopal Church and the Lutheran Church, and the identity of their doctrine and near alliance of their church discipline." (See "History of the Church of Zion and St. Timothy of New York," by David Clarkson [1874], pp. 5–6.)

source of his power lay in his unswerving loyalty to pr
ple. It was genuine grit which gained him both statior
influence, and his impress on the church he served is inde

He was succeeded in office by the Rev. Abraham Ja
D.D., who was thrice elected bishop, and finally acce
the office, being consecrated in Trinity Church, New Ha
October 18, 1797, by Bishops White, Provoost, and
His episcopate was a quiet one of sixteen years, du
which he strengthened the foundations of the Episc
Academy at Cheshire, which Bishop Seabury had es
lished in 1792, and also started the "Churchman's M
zine" in 1804, contributing in both these measures to
literary standing of the church.

In Massachusetts and the rest of New England
period was, as elsewhere, one of an enfeebled vita
Dr. Edward Bass, of Newburyport, who had decline
nomination as bishop soon after the Convention of 1
was again elected in 1796, and was consecrated in P
delphia May 7, 1797. At his first Diocesan Conventio
1798, there were only five clerical and seven lay dep
present. Trinity Church and Christ Church were the
two parishes at that time in Boston, and Bishop Bass
tinued to act as rector of his old Church of St. Paul at N

it. He had been able to keep Trinity Church open during the Revolution, knowing how to be both wise and true. Being a graduate of Harvard, and a man of social station and fine manners, as well as a dignified divine, he was a marked character in the community. He became the successor of Bishop Bass, who died in 1803, and was consecrated by Bishop White in New York, at the meeting of the General Convention in 1804. Taken ill immediately on his return to Boston, he died three months after his consecration, never having performed a single episcopal act. From that time until 1810 Massachusetts was without a bishop. It then became part of the Eastern diocese, which comprised all New England outside of Connecticut, and came under Bishop Griswold's jurisdiction.[1]

It is evident that, with its several members so enfeebled, the corporate body could not be strong. The General Convention, sparsely attended, did some good things which were not great, and failed to do some great things which would have been good. In 1792 an alternate form was allowed in the ordinal in the Form and Manner of Ordering Priests, so that, in the imposition of hands in ordination, the bishop may lawfully use either. A Form of Consecration of a Church or Chapel was added to the Prayer-book in 1799; and in 1801 the Thirty-nine Articles were at last, after long delay and many fruitless attempts at amendment or substitution, "established," in order to identify the church doctrinally with the Church of England.[2] They were ap-

[1] After the death of Bishop Bass, and before the election of Bishop Parker, Judge Dudley Atkins Tyng, of Newburyport, a devout and distinguished layman, was urged, on behalf of the clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, "to receive orders as deacon and priest, that they might, with as little delay as possible, elect him their bishop." He declined the request, the only one of the kind ever made to a layman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. (See "Life of Stephen R. Tyng, D.D.," p. 21.)

[2] "The object kept in view, in all the consultations held and the determinations formed, was the reconstruction of the Episcopal Church on the ground of

pended to the Prayer-book as accepted historical theo
ical statements, and as committing the church to the
eral doctrinal position of the Church of England in
gard to the controversy with Rome out of which
sprang; but no canon concerning a special subscripti
them was then, or has at any time since been, enac
The Office of Institution of Ministers (under the tit
Induction, afterward changed) was adopted in 1804, b
essentially an office prepared in 1799 for the diocese of
necticut by Rev. Dr. William Smith, a nephew of Pr
Smith, of Philadelphia, and rector of St. Paul's Church,
walk. Its phraseology stands out in such distinct con
to that of the rest of the Prayer-book as to emphasiz
absence in the old formularies of terms which this

and of not departing from them, except so far as either local circumstan
quired or some very important cause rendered proper. To those acqu
with the system of the Church of England it must be evident that the
here stated was accomplished on the ratification of the Articles." (
White, "Memoirs of the Church," p. 33.)

It should further be noted in this connection that it appears fro
"Journal" of the Convention of 1804 that "a proposed canon, conc
subscription to the Articles of the church, was negatived, under the i
sion that a sufficient subscription to the Articles is already required

alone employs. For this reason, though there is much beauty in the service, it has been less used than any other portion of the Book of Common Prayer.

The much-desired veto power was given to the House of Bishops in 1804, unfortunately too late to gratify Bishop Seabury, its chief advocate; and morals were not overlooked in the legislation of the period, which was chiefly ritual. In order to discountenance dueling, so prevalent at the time, a resolution was adopted declaring that the clergy ought not to perform the Burial Service in the case of any person who should give or accept a challenge. The adoption of the Table of Degrees of Affinity in relation to marriage, of force in the English Church, was urged by some, but it was not conceded. In its place a resolution in regard to divorce was adopted, declaring "That it is the sense of this church that it is inconsistent with the law of God; and the ministers of this church, therefore, shall not unite in matrimony any person who is divorced, unless it be on account of the other party having been guilty of adultery." Earlier than this by some years measures were proposed for evangelizing the West; and "An Act of the General Convention for Supporting Missionaries to Preach the Gospel on the Frontiers of the United States" was passed in 1792. It was not effective, but it showed an awakened spirit concerning the duty of the church in these first years of its existence. Attention was also directed to the theological education of candidates for the ministry; and in 1804 "A Course of Ecclesiastical Studies" was established by the House of Bishops in pursuance of a request made by the preceding Convention.

Many petty matters, which were the occasion of sound legislation, vexed the minds of the bishops and deputies from time to time. The Rev. Dr. Purcell, a deputy from South Carolina, had published a pamphlet entitled "Stric-

been compassed by "the Episcopalian
of Vermont, united with a body of t
of that communion."[1] The request
ground that Vermont had not accede
of the church. The result of this re
ment of a canon providing that the cl
not be entitled to a resident bishop
at least six presbyters residing an
Another canon, growing out of an
enacted, forbidding the union of a
diocese with the church in any other

These instances of personal base
would not deserve record save for t
throw on the difficulties which th
church was called to encounter. It w
she was learning to understand herse
forces together in the midst of misapp
out and of many insidious attempts
from within. Caution was a virtue t
not the highest of virtues, but the n
higher. And this explains, if it doe
the hesitancy or indifference of the
ments made to comprehend the rece
alists within the fold. This was the

forces would have constituted the great Christian p
of the continent. But no one had the gift of prop
Conservatism appeared to be the sole safeguard o
church, and unregulated evangelization the sole duty o
Methodists. Bishop Madison, as we have seen, had a
sense of the dangers of a permanent disruption, a
strong hope that it might be overcome. In the Ge
Convention of 1792 he had offered a proposition to
effect. This proposition, as agreed to by the Hou
Bishops, was as follows:

"The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United S
of America, ever bearing in mind the sacred oblig
which attends all the followers of Christ to avoid divi
among themselves, and anxious to promote that unio
which our Lord and Saviour so earnestly prayed
hereby declare to the Christian world that, uninflue
by any other considerations than those of duty as C
tians, and an earnest desire for the prosperity of
Christianity and the furtherance of our holy religion,
are ready and willing to unite and form one body with
religious society which shall be influenced by the
catholic spirit. And in order that this Christian end
be the more easily effected, they further declare th

Deputies; but, although a few gentlemen who were cognizant of the correspondence between Dr. Coke and Bishop White favored its consideration, it was generally regarded as "preposterous," and as "tending to produce distrust of the stability of the system of the Episcopal Church, without the least prospect of embracing any other religious body." Agreeably to leave granted "as a matter of indulgence," the bishops withdrew the proposition, which constituted the earliest recorded document bearing upon the questions of church unity and comprehension, which have from time to time agitated the Episcopal communion.

The reference to a correspondence between Dr. Coke and Bishop White gives us a key to the understanding of the whole matter in relation to the Methodists. Since Dr. Coke's appearance in America as ordained superintendent of the Methodist societies, and his ordination of Mr. Asbury, the separation from the Episcopal Church had been complete. In the beginning of this movement Rev. Dr. West, rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, invited Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury to his house to discuss the situation; but nothing came of the interview, though Dr. Coke owned it would be more regular and consistent to "connect the succession." When Dr. White went to England for his episcopal consecration he took letters to both John and Charles Wesley from their friend, Rev. Joseph Pilmore, hoping to make some arrangement by which the Methodists might be retained in the Episcopal communion. He saw Charles Wesley, but could not meet John; and though he tried to effect something, nothing came of his efforts. The desire for the union of the two bodies may not have been general on the part of the American Methodists, but some held to it. Joseph Pilmore, one of the two preachers first sent to America

Asbury, who had not been consulted by him. Bishop White, therefore, could do no more. Dr. Coke also wrote, after Mr. Wesley's death, to Bishop Seabury a letter[1] dated May 14, 1791, in which he embodied the proposals made to Bishop White in a form yet more distinct. "If," he says, "the two houses of the Convention of the clergy would consent to the consecration of Mr. Asbury and me as bishops of the Methodist society in the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States (or by any other title, if that were not proper), on the supposition of the reunion of the two churches, under proper mutual stipulations, and engage that the Methodist society should have a regular supply on the death of their bishop, and so *ad perpetuam*, the grand difficulty in respect to the preachers would be removed." He ends his communication by declaring, "I most cordially wish for a reunion of the Protestant Episcopal and the Methodist churches in these States. The object is of vast magnitude."[2]

It is true that, fifteen years after, when his memory seems to have become confused concerning what he had proposed, Dr. Coke changed his mind, and, in a letter to Mr. Asbury in 1808, says, "I now see that the failure of my plan, which was laid down from the purest motives, was for the best." No true advocate of church unity can agree with him. There is nothing in the plan which does not come within the scope of the Chicago-Lambeth Declaration concerning Unity; and were the Methodists of Dr. Coke's mind to-day, the union might be accomplished. At that time much stood in the way of it. On the part of the Methodists there was doubt or disbelief of the religious

[1] The original of this letter is in the possession of Professor William Seabury (great grandson of the bishop), of the General Theological Seminary, New York. It is printed in "Facsimiles of Church Documents" (Perry).

character of the Episcopal clergy. They deemed t
unconverted, having the form but denying the pow
godliness. The plan of Dr. Coke might have pl
Wesley had he lived to hear of it; but it would not
pleased Wesleyans, save as being the will of their fou
Dr. Coke's concealment of the proposal from Mr. Asl
much the greater man of the two, indicates that it w
personal scheme of his own rather than the embodime
a general sentiment of the Methodists. On the part o
Episcopalians there was the difficult question of sanc
ing an uneducated ministry (for the Methodist prea
were raised from the ranks of the laity, without s
arly training), and the danger of having their newly
structed constitution exposed to a strain it might h
be able to bear. On both sides, moreover, there w
lack of genuine interest in, or comprehension of, the
ject of unity. A century has developed sentiments
dormant or unknown. Time has added to the diffic
of a settlement; but it has also deepened a convictio
stirred a feeling which may prove more than a matc
the difficulties. In one respect the tables are tu
The church of Seabury and White now holds ou
hand.

Convention, small as it was, was not an harmonious one. A sharp spirit of controversy cropped out, and it seemed a house divided against itself. Bishop White wrote of it despondingly as follows:

"On a retrospect of the transactions of this Convention there is entertained the trust that it did not end without a general tendency to consolidate the communion; although, in the course of the business, there has been displayed, more than in any other Convention, the influence of some notions leading far wide of that rational devotion which this church has inherited from the Church of England. The spirit here complained of was rather moderated than raised higher during the session. But it being liable to be combined with schemes of personal consequence, there is no foreseeing to what lengths it may extend in future." [1]

[1] White, "Memoirs of the Church," p. 208.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP HOBART TO DEATH OF BISHOP WHITE (1811–36).

THE period which now comes before us marks a dis advance in the history of the Protestant Episcopal Chu It is distinguished at the outset by the consecration to episcopate of a group of three men who had a forma influence over its life and character. In after-years church advanced by the force of its own characteris when once these were more fully formed, more cl discerned, and more widely appreciated. In this ea time its growth was more largely conditioned by intellectual and moral power of certain prominent c acters who were its advocates.

The first group of bishops who shaped its destinies John Henry Hobart, Alexander V. Griswold, and Ric

brought up under the influence and training of Bishop White in Philadelphia, by whom he was confirmed in his fifteenth year. Two years previously he had entered the College of Philadelphia, when thirteen years of age. He soon removed to Princeton, and graduated there in 1793, when eighteen years old, sharing the highest honors of his class. Here he became a tutor for a few years, pursuing theological studies under the general direction of Bishop White; and in 1798 he returned to Philadelphia, and was admitted deacon June 3d of that year. The friendship between the youthful deacon and the mature bishop was of the closest character. Much as they differed in temperament and opinions, they were always the fastest friends.

Young Hobart from the start was a favorite in the church. His intellectual gifts, his generous social disposition, and his devotion to his work early made their mark. After a few brief ministrations in small places he was called to be assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, in September, 1800, and, on taking the place, was ordained priest by Bishop Provoost, in 1801. His life as a parish priest was active and studious. He loved his books and he loved the souls of men. He loved his church, and believed in her special claims, and advocated them with an insistent fervor which drew to him at once the attention of those without and those within her fold. He soon became known as an author of devotional books, the first of which, "The Companion for the Altar," published in 1804, treated less of the nature of the sacraments than of the authority to administer them, and of the spirit in which they should be approached. This volume emphasized his views of the church and the ministry, and in its forms of devotion expressed as well the fervor of his soul. Men hesitated whether to call him a Methodist or a High-churchman. In a sense he was both. He believed in the reality of a

subjective religion; he believed as firmly that a tru
ward experience could only be rightly regulated and
by the divinely appointed order and sacraments of
church. "The gospel in the church," "evangelical t
and apostolic order," phrases identified with his name
apt expressions of his regulative ideas. All his later w
rung the changes upon them; all his ecclesiastical a
was given to propagate and fortify them. He was
called into controversy by the Rev. Dr. John Mason
great Presbyterian divine of his day; and out of this
lemical contest came, in 1807, "An Apology for Apos
Order and its Advocates," which convinced his oppo
of his ability and sincerity, if not of the validity of his
sition, and which called forth from him this extraordi
expression of appreciation: "Were I compelled to in
the safety of my country to any one man, that man sh
be John Henry Hobart."

With his zeal in parish work, his ardor in controv
his occupations as secretary of the House of Bishops
of the Diocesan Convention, and as a member of the st
ing committee of the diocese, he was kept alive to
exigencies of the time. These suggested new proj
He devoted himself to the furtherance of theological

in the spring of 1811, Bishop Moore felt compelled by his increasing infirmities to call a special Convention and ask for an assistant bishop, here was the man ready for the place. He was at once elected by a majority of both orders, and with the heartfelt approbation of his diocesan.

At the General Convention of 1811, held in New Haven, his credentials were passed; but there were only two bishops, White and Jarvis, present, and the consecration had to be deferred. It seemed for a time that the church would be subjected to the necessity of again applying to the English Church for the episcopate. Bishop Moore was incapacitated by paralysis. Bishop Claggett was ill. Bishop Madison pleaded his university duties as an excuse for absence. Only Bishop Provoost remained to make up the canonical number of consecrators; but he, too, was feeble from recent illness, and his lack of sympathy with the ardent nature and ecclesiastical convictions of the bishop elect would, it was feared, prevent his emerging from his long retirement to assist at the consecration. The exigency of the occasion, however, was sufficiently evident to move him to act; and on May 29, 1811, in Trinity Church, New York, Dr. Hobart and Dr. Griswold were duly consecrated, Bishop White acting as consecrator, and Bishops Provoost and Jarvis assisting. The consecration was attended not only with difficulty, but also with opposition. "A Solemn Appeal to the Church" had been issued as a protest by the Rev. Lot Jones, a fellow assistant minister of Trinity Church, which served for some years as a firebrand to kindle an acrimonious opposition to the new prelate. Bishop Provoost, too, sought in 1812 to revive his own claim to jurisdiction, appealing to the record of the House of Bishops at the time of the consecration of Bishop Moore, and asserting his conviction that without his concurrence no episcopal act in the diocese was of

authority. This claim was immediately and emphatically disallowed by the New York Convention, and it was not further urged.

Bishop Hobart's episcopate, thus begun in trial and turmoil, was from the beginning characteristic of the man. It stood out in great contrast to that of both of his predecessors. Their tone had been that of moderation, the moderation of indifference on the one hand and of placid piety on the other. Hobart was the embodiment of positive assertion and aggressive action. All the ardor of his soul went forth in the incessant discharge of ever-augmenting duties. He was a larger Seabury touched with emotion, awake to the necessities and responsive to the spirit of his time. From the day of his consecration the Episcopal Church in New York never existed on sufferance. Its time of apology was past. It might be liked or disliked, opposed or favored; but it was henceforth recognized as an organization with distinct claims of its own, and with a distinct determination to prosecute them. It stood no longer on the defensive. It became self-conscious, self-confident, and self-assertive. Through Hobart's touch it was roused from slumber and reminiscent dreams, and stalked forth into active life, energetic, persistent, and aggressive. The whole tone of public feeling toward it changed. It was no longer tolerated as an amply endowed institution too respectable to be disturbed, but too torpid to be feared. It became a living factor, dreaded by some, admired by others, but acknowledged and respected by all. Whatever criticism may be passed on Bishop Hobart's opinions or methods, this incalculable benefit he conferred: he made the church in New York a living power. And from out this central battery the electric current ran to distant dioceses, quickening life everywhere. What followed was a virtual ecclesiastical renaissance.

There is no space to follow in detail the movements of this remarkable man. His diocese extended more than three hundred miles from east to west; but promptness and fidelity made him equal to the task of ministering to its burdensome demands. For nineteen years "he ruled it prudently with all his power." He was too ardent to be always wise; and his eagerness to establish and advance the distinguishing and determining tenets of his communion led him at times into a narrowness of judgment and action which gained him the name of bigot and aroused charges of intolerance. He had the defects of his nature. "Give me a little zealous imprudence" was with him a favorite phrase. He could suffer nothing which seemed to hinder or conflict with the position he claimed for his church. He would not join others even in an object he acknowledged to be good, lest that union of action might be construed as yielding the supreme claims of his own order. With the American Bible Society he would not affiliate, though he established one of his own. He wanted to stop the prayer-meeting of saintly Dr. Milnor, of St. George's Church, lest recognition of such extemporaneous devotion should disparage the more excellent way of the liturgy. Earnest in his study and love of the Scriptures, aflame with devotion in his soul, he could thus act in seeming contradiction to his spiritual convictions. But his jealousy for the church was not zeal for a perfunctory mechanism, nor a denial of all good outside of its ecclesiastical sphere.

His cry in advocacy of the church was, "Behold, I show you a more excellent way." A modern Parochial Mission, with its free methods, would not then have met his approval; and a Young Men's Christian Association he would doubtless have frowned upon as an unhallowed

The difference lies in the time and its task.
ıe period of formation; this is the period of
ɔosition. His rigidity in regard to the episco-
:emed partisan and exclusive; now that epis-
ıerished as an indispensable element of church
exclusiveness of his day is transformed into
:ness of our own.

Iobart was a prolific writer of sermons and
d these were able and heartfelt; but his
in his organizing faculty and in the vitality
ıal power. He was the originator and presid-
f many societies for the advancement of the
as the Episcopal Tract Society, Sunday-school
ssionary Society. He headed a movement in
rten and in some measure modify some of the
e Prayer-book, in order to make them more
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of his convictions, and, in whatever he did, he
ingle to the advancement of the church; an eye
vision than that of many who rejected meas-
erywhere conceded wise, but then beyond the

a personal visitation and confirmed eighty-nine souls. He subsequently ordained Rev. Eleazar Williams, supposed then to be of Indian extraction, and who afterward claimed to be the Dauphin Louis XVII., to be their minister. When this missionary and many of his people were transferred to Green Bay, Wis., Bishop Hobart made an effort to visit them there; and his movements awakened the church to the need of missionary effort in what was then considered the far West.

When the General Theological Seminary finally settled in New York he accepted the professorship of pastoral theology in that institution; and the effect of his uncompromising ardor was strongly felt by his pupils, one of whom, Whittingham, afterward the distinguished Bishop of Maryland, said, "For few of God's many blessings have I so much reason to be so supremely grateful as for the day that brought me to sit at the feet of Hobart." Such was the man who made a marked impression on the church of his day. His whole life was an illustration of his latest words to his family. When starting on the final visitation, which ended in his death at Auburn, September 12, 1830, his wife urged upon him caution, saying, "You are undertaking too much;" and his answer was, "How can I do too much for Him who has done everything for me?" It was this consecration of soul which gave to his life its greatness and enduring power.

Bishop Griswold, who was consecrated at the same time with him as Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, was a man of different temperament and churchmanship from Hobart, but of as marked and influential a character. He was a type of the Evangelical Low-churchman, though he had been trained by his uncle, Rev. Roger Viets, missionary at Simsbury, Conn., who had been converted to the church while a student at Yale College, from studying books on

the church in the college library. His father's losses as a loyalist in the Revolution rendered it impossible for him to graduate at Yale as he desired; but he was thoroughly trained by his uncle, and was studious and unusually apt at acquiring knowledge. The moral and religious training of his mother made him devout and earnest in religion from an early age. His religious experience was never tumultuous, but his faith quietly penetrated his life and molded his whole moral organization. Like Hobart, the Puritan strain in his blood was manifest in the persistent intensity of his spiritual nature.

His uncle moving to Nova Scotia after the Revolution, young Griswold married and studied law, remaining in the old Simsbury parish. Here he was confirmed at twenty years of age, on Bishop Seabury's first visit to the parish, in 1786. His services in reading prayers and sermons were so acceptable that he was persuaded to take orders; but such was the narrowness of his resources that he had to work with his hands for the support of his family until he could be ordained. As he could not well afford candles, he would stretch himself on the hearth and study by the firelight late into the night, after a day of toil in the fields.

He was made deacon at Stratford in June, 1795, and ordained priest in October of the same year at Plymouth, at the last ordination held by Bishop Seabury. Already he had served, while a candidate, three small parishes in Litchfield township, and he continued with them ten years, often teaching a district school in winter, and in summer serving as a day-laborer among his parishioners to eke out his support. After rejecting two calls to Bristol, R. I., he finally accepted a third and removed thither in 1804, becoming rector of St. Michael's Church. His spiritual nature seems to have been deepened by this

change. His preaching dwelt less on matters of ecclesiastical controversy, and assumed a more strongly evangelical type. He at once became a power in the town, a favorite with those without his church, and a strong influence within it. His church was soon enlarged, but not his salary; and to his labors as rector he had to add those of teacher of a select school. His health suffering from three sermons on Sunday and daily teaching during the week, he was about to accept a call to St. Michael's Church, Litchfield, when, to his surprise, he was elected Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, May 31, 1810.

That diocese was fully organized at a Convention held in Boston, May 29, 1810, and was formed by the union of the churches in the State of Massachusetts (which then included the district of Maine) with those in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont. The inability of the churches in any of these States to support a bishop of their own compelled this course of action. In the whole Eastern Diocese there were but twenty-two parishes and sixteen officiating clergymen. Most of these parishes were feeble, many almost dead. The only strong churches were Trinity in Boston, St. John's in Providence, and Trinity in Newport. For six years there had been no bishop in the entire region, and those years had been years of decay and spiritual torpor. The rising tide of Unitarianism had greatly affected the church in Massachusetts, since the untimely death of Bishop Parker in 1804.

After Bishop Seabury's death Rhode Island had sought to place itself under Bishop Moore, of New York; but he had not felt able to undertake the charge, and no further efforts for the episcopate were made in that State until the Eastern Diocese was formed. New Hampshire, too, had, on Bishop Seabury's death, elected Bishop Bass, of Mas-

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op Seabury,
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express understanding that he should not be expected to visit the State.

Such, then, was the condition of the extended district to whose episcopal supervision Bishop Griswold was elected. At first he utterly declined the office, feeling himself inadequate; but the difficulties of the situation appealed to him, and, urged by others, he finally accepted. A year from the date of his election he was consecrated, together with Bishop Hobart (May 29, 1811), by Bishop White, in Trinity Church, New York. He was then forty-five years of age, ten years older than Hobart, having been born in 1766. His health was never strong, but he was in the full maturity of his powers, and he began his work with a zeal which never flagged. It was an arduous and difficult task. To secure sufficient support he retained his position as rector of St. Michael's in Bristol until 1830, when, in order to be nearer the center of his diocese, he became rector of St. Peter's, Salem, Mass. Not until 1835, when he was sixty-nine years of age, did he retire from parish duties and confine himself wholly to the duties of the episcopate. Those duties he always most faithfully fulfilled.

His first effort was to rekindle the fires of spiritual life, which were merely smoldering in many places. He was set to harmonize discordant elements of church life which were bitter by reason of their unreasonableness. He had to administer discipline too long delayed. Like Hobart, he must create the church anew, only out of elements far more hopeless and decayed, far more widely scattered and impoverished. The formidable nature of his task deepened his spiritual intensity. A very marked attention to religion was awakened, the year after his consecration, in his parish church at Bristol, R. I. It came apart from any special measures used to excite it; only, as he writes in

measure." In places where there was no church he held services in the groves, and gathered to confirmation many scores from these wayside hearers. In northern Vermont, in western Massachusetts among the Berkshires, in the wildernesses of Maine and New Hampshire, he repeated the Apostle's experience, "In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often. . . . Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches." "Who shall satisfy these men with bread here in the wilderness?" he was ever asking, as, like his Master, he "looked on the multitude, and had compassion upon them." He always placed the chief emphasis upon personal religion, while claiming for the church the office of its safe guide and educator. Thus it came to pass, in favorable contrast to past times, that in less than thirty years the Eastern Diocese, once made necessary for the conservation and propagation of religion as the church understood and embodied it, had so vivified the region which it embraced that, in order to secure sufficient ministrations for the growing churches and congregations of its vast area, its dissolution became as imperative as its formation had once been.

In the midst of his self-forgetful labors Griswold had at last outlived his contemporaries, and in 1838 he became the senior and presiding bishop of the church. In this capacity he was brought in contact, through active correspondence, with the archbishops and bishops of the English, Scotch, and Irish churches; and the old esteem in which he had been held by the Church Missionary Society was now enlarged by this wider association. He grew in honor as he advanced in years. His last act of ordination was that held in Trinity Church, Boston, December 29, 1842, when he consecrated the Rev. Manton Eastburn, D.D., of

chusetts. Not two months afterward, on February 11, 1843, he walked through the snow to call on his coadjutor, and, as he reached the door, fell dead upon the step. Like Bishop Seabury, who confirmed and ordained him, he did not dread a sudden death, and, like him, he shared it. He fell amid his labors, seventy-seven years of age, having in an episcopate of thirty-two years recreated the Episcopal Church in all New England outside of Connecticut. He was a saintly character, and was "in labors more abundant."

We turn now to the episcopate of the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, which, for Virginia and the South, was as epoch-making as that of Bishop Hobart in New York and Bishop Griswold in New England. Here, again, was a man eminently suited to the place. Though from New York, he had traits specially adapted to Virginia. He was of gentle blood, being descended from Sir John Moore, who was knighted by Charles I. in 1627. His grandfather was an eminent merchant of New York, and a member of the king's council for the province, and was the first person buried in Trinity Churchyard (1749). His father was educated in England, and his mother was Elizabeth Channing, of a prominent family. The future bishop was born in New York, 1762. He was bred for King's College; but the Revolution prevented his entering it, and after the war he studied and practiced medicine for a few years. Becoming earnestly religious, he studied for orders under the general direction of Bishop Provoost, and was ordained deacon and priest by him in 1787, being twenty-five years old. As the High-church Hobart was trained under the moderate Bishop White, and the Low-church Griswold came from the hands of the High-church Bishop Seabury, so the intensely Evangelical Moore received his guidance into the church from the latitudinarian Provoost.

He was adapted to the South both by the nature of his

religious convictions and by his genial social temperament and personal charm. He was *persona grata* always and everywhere. His conversation was spiced with a fund of anecdote, and his amiable disposition brought him hosts of friends. And all his native gifts were made the vehicle for a fervent presentation of those features and facts of the gospel which especially appeal to the personal conscience and win the individual soul. In a good sense he was a revivalist, delighting to improve times of special religious interest by more frequent services and more direct preaching, and by that intense earnestness of appeal and prayer which cannot healthfully be continuous. But he discountenanced mourners' benches and the various devices which have been commonly associated with such times of special awakening. He was emotional, but kept a check on his feelings. He was very direct in his charge to the sinful; but he loved to dwell on the promises of God, and lure men rather than drive them home to Christ. He had, moreover, that personal magnetism which drew and fixed attention, and a persuasive eloquence which made his speech rarely effective. His manner was animated and pathetic, and his voice full of charm. His heart overflowed with charity to all Christian people. He was in all things a gentleman, the very man to fire the Southern heart.

How he came to Virginia we shall now relate. After passing the first two years of his ministry at Rye, he became the rector of St. Andrew's Church, Staten Island, in 1789, and continued there for twenty-one years. It was a ministry of wonderful success. The bounds of his parish were enlarged, the communicants largely increased, the standard of Christian character greatly elevated. Numbers flocked to his ministry from far and near, so that there was no accommodation at the parish church, and a chapel of ease had to be built six miles distant from it. The

following incident illustrates his uni
hearers:

"He had been preaching at one of
the afternoon, and, the ordinary closi
ended, pronounced the benediction.
moved to retire. All seated themse
of fixed and solemn attention. A me
arose and said, 'Dr. Moore, the peop
to go home. Please to give us anothe
close of that a like scene was repeated
were continued, until, at the close of
preacher was obliged to say, 'My b
must now disperse, for, although I del
glad tidings of salvation, my strengt
I can say no more.' Under these s
awakened to righteousness. It was th
a glorious revival of religion, as the f
new-born souls were added to the com
ful." [1]

It was during this ministry at Sta
Moore attended as a deputy the Ge
1808, held at Baltimore. This was hi
with the South. He preached in the

island, preaching in school-houses and farm-houses on week-days, and three times at his different stations on Sundays.

He was called to St. Stephen's Church, New York, in 1809, and went, leaving his son behind him as rector of St. Andrew's. Here he stayed five years, finding a small congregation and thirty communicants, and leaving a church crowded to overflowing, and with between four and five hundred communicants. There were differences of views and usages which kept him awhile apart from Hobart, both as rector and bishop; but they were both too much akin in their spiritual fervor not to come to understand and appreciate each other. Thus it came about that, when Dr. Moore was elevated to the episcopate of Virginia, Bishop Hobart wrote a letter strongly indorsing him.

He was elected bishop in 1814. To secure his support as bishop he was also chosen rector of the Monumental Church in Richmond. As before related, only seven clergymen and eighteen laymen constituted the special Convention which made the election. We need not here repeat what has been already said concerning the low condition of the church in Virginia at this time. The paucity of clergy had had, however, one good effect. It had stirred to greater earnestness those who remained. Among them were four very marked men. They were Wilmer of Fairfax, Norris of Alexandria, Dunn of Loudon County, and, chiefest, William Meade, afterward assistant to Bishop Moore, and his honored successor. These had carefully studied the character of Moore, and stood ready to pledge him their unfaltering support. Moore knew the unpromising nature of the field, more desolate and discouraging, perhaps, than any other portion of the church's domain. He felt a strong and clinging affection for the parish he had so ably built up, and for the life of the community in

which he was a distinct power. But he also saw the need of Virginia, and felt in touch with the devout remnant of its people. He thought he knew the remedy for their misfortunes: that it lay in the earnest presentation of the gospel truths he loved and lived by, and in the methods which he employed. And so he went forth from home and kindred, scarcely knowing whither he went, but believing that God called him. The event proved that he was not mistaken.

He was consecrated by Bishop White, May 18, 1814, in St. James's Church, Philadelphia; his own bishop, Hobart, together with Bishop Griswold and Bishop Dehon, of South Carolina, assisting. It was a rare benediction to have such saintly and earnest hands laid on such a head. Its power proved as genuine as its form.

The coming of Bishop Moore to Richmond was like the coming of summer, the season in which he came. Hope sprang up at once in the few earnest souls who were alert to restore the waste places. The commanding presence and persuasive speech of the new bishop gained him attention from the start, and it rapidly deepened into admiration and love. He earnestly set to work to do all he could, and he could do much. He was now over fifty years old, and his years had been years of exhaustive labor. His parochial engagements and bodily infirmities prevented his visiting many parts of the diocese, and Bishop Meade narrates that he never crossed the Alleghany Mountains, though he sometimes visited North Carolina, which had then no bishop. But wherever he went, life started anew and passed on and out beyond the place where it started. His first Convention of 1815 was attended by double the number of clergy present at his election the year before; and an increased lay representation gave evidence of new life and zeal. The bishop, in his address, spoke hopefully,

as was his wont, and declared that "in every parish he had visited he found the most animated wish of the people to restore the church of their fathers to its primitive purity." At once measures were taken to restore discipline, confined at first to grosser sins, yet immediately raising the cry of priestly usurpation and oppression. The lawless declared the clergy only wanted power, and that fire and fagot would soon be used again; that the bishop was only establishing a Methodist Church, and that the new church needed reforming already.[1] This very opposition showed the presence of a new vitality, and the work of reformation went steadily on. Parishes seemingly dead were aroused to life and vigor. In another year ten new churches were reported as about to be built, while eight of the old dilapidated or deserted sanctuaries were undergoing repair. The work of revival, development, and growth never afterward ceased. It continued all through his episcopate and that of his coadjutor and successor, Meade, and through those of their successors.

When Bishop Moore came to his diocese there were only four or five active laboring ministers. When, after twenty-seven years, he died, there were nearly a hundred earnest and devoted clergy, and a hundred and seventy churches served by them. He made and kept his clergy devoted by friendly intercourse, by unfailing interest in their work, and by faithful admonition. The tendency to slight the liturgy, hitherto used so formally, which at times cropped out amid the renewed zeal for spiritual results, was always noticed and restrained. He had a great love for associations for informal devotion, for lecture-room services and prayer-meetings; but he never suffered them to be regarded as substitutes for the regular public devotions of the Prayer-book, nor esteemed as superior to them.

[1] See Meade, "Old Churches and Families of Virginia," vol. i., p. 39.

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explain, God is pleased to make the ordinances of his religion the channels of his love to man. We perform our duty in obeying that precept which leads us to the altar. God strengthens us by his inward grace imparted to us." He was very earnest, however, in emphatic protest against the "Tracts for the Times," and rejoiced in Bishop McIlvaine's criticism of the Oxford Movement. He was stanch in his belief in and love for the church of his fathers, while he cherished a spirit of forbearance and charity toward the followers of Christ of every name. Thus he was for many years the president of the Bible Society of Virginia. "Could a Prayer-book accompany every volume of the Sacred Writings I should be rejoiced," he said in a letter to Bishop Ravenscroft; "but as that was not the case when the Scriptures were first given to the world, I cannot see the propriety of making it a condition of their dissemination at the present day."

Such was the spirit and course of his episcopate. The wants of his own communion he was neither slow to descry nor slack to remedy. He urged strongly the duty of systematic giving; and, if he did not institute the weekly offertory, he at least exhorted every churchman "to lay aside on the first day of the week a portion of his earnings to be sacredly devoted to the cause of Christian benevolence." He felt the crying need of earnest ministers, cognizant of the special wants of his diocese, and was greatly instrumental in instituting the Virginia Theological Seminary in order to supply them. This was not done in opposition to the General Seminary in New York, but to gain what that could not give him. And he was mindful of the wants of his clergy when he got them, and strenuously pleaded for their more adequate support, urging the formation of a missionary fund for their relief. He called

Society, and recommended the formation of auxiliaries to it in all the parishes. He encouraged the publication of the "Southern Churchman," a weekly religious paper, and desired that the editor would "feel himself bound to inculcate and faithfully to guard the distinctive principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church, without wantonly assailing the principles of other Christian communities, and to avoid controversy when controversy can possibly be avoided."

Thus he labored on until his eightieth year, taking many journeys of great extent, and, though after 1829 relieved by the assistance of his coadjutor, Bishop Meade, daily employed in the public duties of his office. At every succeeding Convention the parochial reports showed distinct progress in the church. He saw his beloved Theological Seminary growing in strength and sending forth laborers into the vineyard. He experienced the warmest reception of himself, and recognition of his work, in other dioceses; and in Baltimore as in New York he received almost an ovation at times after his powerful preaching. His last speech in the General Convention of 1841 was in advocacy of sending missionary bishops to Texas and western Africa; for his interest in Christ's church was as wide as it was deep. He returned home before the Convention adjourned, preached at a funeral in Richmond with a fervor so extraordinary as to excite the remark, "Surely this must be his last message to Richmond," and then went on to Lynchburg to hold a confirmation. After a stirring address at night to a congregation moved to tears by his earnest eloquence, he repaired to the rectory, which he never left alive. He was taken ill that night and died after a week's sickness, with the composure and peace of a Christian warrior lying down to rest. Though nearly eighty years old, like Hobart, he died on a visitation away from

home. Like him, he left a diocese so reconstructed through his labors and by his spirit as to make it a perpetual witness to his power and goodness. He was a man of great popular gifts; but as with his two distinguished contemporaries, Hobart and Griswold, it was the spiritual consecration of the man to his Master which gave him the commanding influence he exercised upon the life and fortunes of the church.

These three bishops whose careers have been sketched were typical of the church history of their time. The spirit in which they wrought furnished the recreative power of the Episcopal Church. That spirit was by no means wholly confined to them. It was manifest in other quarters, and by many in other orders of the ministry, who labored under them, even to mention whom the time would fail us. Already before the consecration of Bishop Moore, of Virginia, Dr. Theodore Dehon, who had been the successful rector of Trinity Church, Newport, and afterward for seven years rector of St. Michael's, Charleston, was elected and consecrated Bishop of South Carolina in 1812. His short episcopate of five years gave stability and increase to the Southern church. Dr. James Kemp in 1814 was made coadjutor to Bishop Claggett, of Maryland, in special charge of the churches on the Eastern Shore, and in 1816 succeeded to the charge of the whole diocese. Through many troublous scenes he safely guided the church until 1827, when he died. New Jersey at last, in 1815, roused itself from its lethargy, and elected Dr. John Croes for its first bishop; and he for seventeen years ruled the diocese faithfully in the meekness of wisdom. Bishop Bowen succeeded Bishop Dehon in South Carolina in 1818; and in 1819 Bishop Brownell succeeded Bishop Jarvis after an interval of six years in the episcopate of Connecticut.

During this time the records of the General Convention

go to college, he graduated at Dartmouth in 1795. He had entered a Puritan; he came out a churchman; for he had found there a Prayer-book, and the study of it converted him. After teaching at Albany he was ordered deacon by Bishop Provoost in 1798. He was possessed of a restless missionary zeal, and the life of a frontiersman beckoned him. His first work was in western New York, planting parishes in the wilderness, notably at Utica and Auburn. After receiving priest's orders he for five years had charge of churches at Poughkeepsie and Fishkill, to which double charge he added the labors of principal of the academy. The Protestants of New Orleans applied to Bishop Moore for a clergyman, and he sent them Chase. He went in 1805, established Christ Church in New Orleans, scoured the outlying settlements for converts, fell almost mortally ill of malaria, and returned to New England in 1811.

From this time he was rector of Christ Church, Hartford, Conn., until 1817, when he could no longer repress his itinerant instincts, and so started for the district in Ohio called the Western Reserve. Here at Salem he made his home. No Episcopalians were there; in fact, there were few among the Western emigrants anywhere, for at the East they chiefly belonged to the classes which did not emigrate. But from settlement to settlement Chase pushed his way, instructing the people in the church's worship, with which many were much pleased. He established relations with the two clergymen already in the State, but remote from each other. In 1818 the five clergy who constituted the entire clerical force in the State met with some nine laymen at Worthington, having organized a diocese at Columbus the year before, and elected Chase bishop. It was an election to toil and penury, but as such it had for him its charms. He was consecrated by Bishop White in St. James's Church, Philadelphia, February 11, 1819.

He at once pushed his way on horseback, through inc
ible dangers, back to his diocese.

To detail his perils in the wilderness there is no s
The fruit of them is found in the two dioceses of Ohic
Illinois. He knew the people, and was wise to win th
and he saw that those who should win them must k
and love them. Hence the necessity for Ohio, as for Vir
under Bishop Moore, of a ministry bred on the spot. H
cided to found a college and to go to England for mon
build it. He met with discouragement by the way. Bi
Hobart strongly disapproved his action and was on his
to England, where his position and character would
him influence. Still the sturdy frontier bishop went;
he captured the public. He was a prehistoric ecclesias
ranchman, with the wild flavor and unconventional simpl
which so captivate the aristocrat to-day. He had a l
from Henry Clay to Lord Gambier, who was preside
the Church Missionary Society, and he was received
open arms. He returned home in 1824 with twenty t
sand dollars, and subsequently received ten thousand n
He named the college Kenyon, from Lord Kenyon,
largely assisted him; and the place where he establish
Gambier, from his first English friend, Lord Gambier.

labors," until in 1835 the three clergymen and three parishes in Illinois met at Peoria, formed themselves into a diocese, and elected Bishop Chase their bishop. He was received by the General Convention which assembled the same year. Though now sixty years of age, he began with all the ardor of youth to repeat the labors and successes of his old Ohio life. He found the same needs here as in his first diocese, and at once proceeded to supply them, and in the same manner. In the autumn of the year of his assuming the episcopate of Illinois he went a second time to England to gather funds for a new college for the training of Western ministers and the education of the sons of the frontiersmen. In seven months he returned with ten thousand dollars, and began the foundations of Jubilee College. He received gifts, also, from his own countrymen. He again visited the South in 1839, and Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina made generous response to his appeals. Philadelphia, New York, and Brooklyn, at the North, contributed. New England sustained scholarships; Old England, from time to time, sent aid. Thus he established his second college; and as the pioneer missionary bishop to the West, serviceable to its humblest needs and alive to its imperative demands, he did his great work of saving the region to civilization and to a reasonable and churchly Christianity. Two collegiate institutions and two dioceses, started and consolidated, are a monument which few have ever erected to their own memory. And it is to be remembered that all this was done in the midst of primeval forests, surrounded by the crudest conditions of pioneer life.

In the meantime the church at the East and the South felt the same impulse to supply facilities for the education of the ministry that Chase had felt in the West. From this impulse, the General Theological Seminary at New York,

graduated from it. The names of Hobart and Turner, and Wilson and Moore, and Seabury and Forbes, and Whittingham and Mahan, are all indissolubly associated with it, with many others among the living whom we may not name. The late munificent legacy of Dr. Eigenbrodt, who served many years gratuitously as a professor, shows the appreciation in which those hold it who have been associated with it. To the princely benefactions of the present dean, Rev. Dr. E. A. Hoffman, the church and the city owe one of the noblest groups of ecclesiastical architecture to be found on the continent.

The Theological Seminary of the diocese of Virginia was inaugurated about the same time as the General Seminary in New York. It was designed to educate clergy especially adapted to Virginia and the South; and, while Bishop Moore disavowed any feeling of rivalry with the General Seminary, there was a widespread fear in Virginia that a general seminary might take too great an impress from the diocese in which it was located, and thus become really diocesan while enjoying the prestige of a general church institution. Many prominent clergymen and bishops favored diocesan schools in preference to a general one, and Bishop White was among them. He stood for the General Seminary when the mind of the church was ascertained to favor it, but candidly owned that he "had sacrificed his peculiar sense of the subject to that of the church generally." The need of diocesan schools at that day was more imperative than now. The distances were ten times greater then, by reason of the modes of travel and the badness of the roads. The poverty-stricken candidates must study privately unless the seminary were easy of approach. The Alexandria seminary was thus not founded in faction, but to satisfy a real demand. After a few years of ill success in establishing a theological profess-

orship at the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, the Virginia Theological Seminary was opened at Alexandria in 1823. It, too, has had an honorable and distinguished history. The successive bishops of Virginia have taken the greatest interest in it, and, not to mention others, the association of such a man as Dr. Sparrow, its most distinguished professor, with it gave it a consecration in the minds of all men who prize intellectual greatness combined with spiritual power. Its theology has always taken the complexion of the Evangelical school, though it has educated many who have not belonged to it. It long held the distinction of sending out all the foreign missionaries of the church; and of its nine hundred graduates fully fifty have gone on foreign missions, while twenty-two have been made bishops. Fifteen different dioceses have at times been represented among its students. After the Civil War it was nobly assisted by munificent benefactions from the North, especially by the princely gifts of the late William H. Aspinwall, of New York. It stands strong to-day.

It was soon after the consecration of Bishop Brownell, in 1819, that steps were taken in Connecticut to establish a church college. The new bishop had been tutor and professor in Union College at Schenectady, N. Y., for ten years, and was deeply interested in Christian education. It was a congenial task to him to revive the project which Bishop Seabury had started, but was unable to complete, in the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, of securing a church college capable of conferring degrees and giving the complete education to which they witnessed. Many circumstances combined to make this a propitious time for the movement. The unhappy war with England (1812–15) had at least had this happy effect: to remove from the

The "Star-spangled Banner," which became at once
tional anthem, had been written by Francis S. Key, a
ut as well as distinguished layman of Maryland; and
church was seen to breed patriots in Connecticut, as in
Revolution it had bred them in Virginia. The taint
glomania was now lessened, if not obliterated, in the
ese whose first bishop had been a chaplain in the royal
s.

gain, in 1817, the Episcopalians in the State received
the Bishops' Fund one seventh of the sum which
necticut recovered from the United States for expense
rred in the late war with England, and which the State
ibuted among the various denominations in proportion
eir numerical strength. In 1818 the Standing Order
overthrown, and a State constitution was adopted,
an express provision for religious equality. In
also the governor, Oliver Wolcott, invited the rec-
of Trinity Church, New Haven, to preach the Election
on before the General Assembly at Hartford. In so
rable a political atmosphere the General Assembly
ted the petition presented by churchmen May 13,
, and passed the Act of Incorporation of Washington
e 1845 called Trinity) College. The college began
eptember, 1824, with one senior, one sophomore, and
reshmen; but by the end of the year the number of

the near neighborhood of Yale College has somewhat overshadowed the institution, in the tone of its scholarship it has maintained a high rank. During the seventy years of its existence it has taught more than sixteen hundred students, conferred the degree of B.A. on over nine hundred of them, and sent forth three hundred ministers, of whom eight have become bishops. The Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown was founded as an offshoot of the college during the administration of Bishop Williams.

The colleges established under the influence of the church, though respectable and useful institutions, have not up to this time, with the exception of Columbia College, New York, taken a leading rank in the country, and for various reasons. They were preceded by older foundations, which in turn have sent forth vigorous offshoots in newer but still strong organizations. At the West and the East alike the church community itself was small, and was absorbed in reëstablishing itself after the Revolution in the face of strong popular prejudice. When the movement of establishing colleges began they were chiefly intended to supply local wants, and they partook largely of the local character of the diocese in which they were placed. They have been, as it were, diocesan rather than general institutions, and have thus embodied and represented sections of the church instead of the whole body. As time went on party spirit in the church grew rife, and the colleges stood for special schools of churchmanship, to be sought or avoided, according to the sympathies of individual churchmen. They have thus not appealed to the church as a whole, and have suffered accordingly. Columbia College, by reason of its situation in New York City, has been largely freed from this narrowing and partisan aspect, and has profited by this freedom. The latest of the large institutions, the

University of the South, virtually founded since the
of 1861–65, at Sewanee, Tenn., though established origi
for one political division of the country, has imbib
more generous spirit, and appealing to all the Sout
dioceses, which are represented in its board, puts o
larger aspect of the whole church. It comes nearer
most institutions to being truly a church college, an
promise is proportionally great. When all the colleg
the church give broader significance to the legend o
seal of Trinity College, "*Ecclesia et patria*," they wil
come more commensurate with the character of the ch
they represent.

While the church was thus fortifying itself withi
the creation of schools for theological and secular lear
it was roused also to extend its work and influenc
establishing its missionary organization. The Dom
and Foreign Missionary Society was formally inaugu
in Philadelphia November 21, 1821. Previous missio
efforts had been provincial and not over-successful.
missionary societies had been formed in Philadelphia;
in 1812, for work within Pennsylvania; one in 1816
work beyond the State. In 1820 this last society, thr
a report by Rev. Messrs. Kemper, Muhlenberg, and B

society was constituted as composed of the bishops and deputies of the General Convention, represented by a board of directors, and working by an executive committee of eight.

The great hindrance before this time to planting missions in the new States and Territories had been the identity of the state with the diocese. It was not until 1838 that the word "State" was replaced by the word "Diocese" in the constitution. The General Convention had felt itself unwarranted to impose bishops on independent churches or on States which possessed the inherent rights of organization and of choosing their own episcopal head. There thus existed for years many dioceses which were represented in the General Convention only in the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, because there was no bishop. As an extreme instance, Delaware (represented in the earliest Conventions, and furnishing, in the person of the Rev. Dr. Charles Henry Wharton, one of the men most influential in framing the Constitution and forming the Prayer-book) had no bishop until 1841. New Jersey, Maine, North Carolina, Georgia, and other States shared in less degree this same impediment to growth. It was seen that the time had come for other and more aggressive action.

The effort to awaken a missionary spirit in the church met with enthusiastic and general support. Auxiliary societies immediately sprang up. The very next year the executive committee reported the formation of eleven of them, eight of them being female societies; and in 1836 thirty-two auxiliaries were reported. All types of churchmen coöperated in urging the claims of missions. Doane and Hopkins, McIlvaine and Meade, Otey, De Lancey, Henshaw, Milnor, Tyng, all used their eloquence to advocate the cause. Offerings flowed in in response. On motion of Bishop Hobart the House of Bishops in 1828

recommended the clergy to make annual collections fo
society; and Dr. Wainwright made plain that "th
domestic and foreign missions may be distinct in n
yet the cause itself is one and indivisible." Bishop W
pledged his private credit for the supply of needed m
in an emergency.

The first person who offered himself for foreign mis
ary work was the Rev. Joseph R. Andrews, of the Ea
Diocese, who, commended by Bishop Griswold, wen
in 1820 to Liberia as "a missionary and agent of
Colonization Society." He died the next year.
General Convention of 1826 unanimously declared
"measures should be taken for establishing mission
Liberia and Buenos Ayres"; and the executive comm
nominated Mr. Jacob Orson, a colored man, as missio
to Africa as soon as he could obtain orders. Orda
afterward by Bishop Brownell, he died as the ship w
was to take him was about to sail. The blockad
Buenos Ayres prevented the Rev. Lot Jones, appoint
its oversight, from reaching his destination. The mi
to Greece in 1829 was the really first foreign mission e

efforts of the Greeks in freeing themselves from Turkish rule and Mohammedan oppression; and the need of education was so great in the old classic country that many of the Greek youth were sent to the continent of Europe for education, where they imbibed and returned with infidel principles. In two months after Mrs. Hill's school for girls was opened there were a hundred and sixty-seven pupils, from three to eighteen years old, and very few of them could read. A boys' school was begun, and a hundred pupils flocked to it. The influence of Mr. and Mrs. Hill was ever most healthful and purifying. Through a long life they continued to educate in a pure Christianity multitudes of those who are now the fathers and mothers of the Greek community. The schools are still maintained, a blessing to the land.

The mission to China was established at the very close of the period of the church's life we are now considering. It owed its beginning to the devotion of young Lyde, who died in 1834, at the age of twenty-one, before he could enter the missionary service, to which he had consecrated his life. His spirit was caught by others, and in 1835 the funds were found, and the Rev. Henry Lockwood, of the General Theological Seminary, and the Rev. Francis R. Hansen, a graduate of the Virginia Theological Seminary, sailed together for China. This was before the English Church had entered that field. Bishop Boone was the first foreign missionary bishop elected by the Protestant Episcopal Church, and he was consecrated for China in 1844.

The history of these missions we may not here trace. The church, after the action of 1821, was fairly started on the course she has ever since pursued with steadfast steps. All the bishops for the new-formed dioceses were really missionary bishops in the nature of their work. But not

until 1835 was the first so-called missionary bishop elected in the person of Jackson Kemper, D.D. His truly apostolic work will be noticed hereafter. The most significant fact in regard to the church's missionary action at this period is to be found in the report of the committee having in charge the "consideration of changes in the mode of missionary operations." Its spirit inspired the whole church, and its plan reinvigorated its whole missionary activity. It was the outcome of churchmen of all schools, and was the unanimous expression of their settled convictions. It enunciated and enforced the proposition that "the church is the missionary society," and that "every Christian in the terms of his baptismal vow" is pledged to coöperate in preaching the gospel to every creature. The Board of Missions thus became the agent of the whole church in missionary work, and its two departments, foreign and domestic, were regarded only as what Dr. Tyng had declared them to be—departments of one great field. Bishop Doane, the chairman of the committee, presented and enforced these positions with great eloquence and power; and he was ably seconded by other members of the committee, notably by Bishop McIlvaine and Drs. Henshaw and Milnor. As a result, the General Convention unanimously adopted the canons concerning missionary bishops; and Bishop Kemper was elected for the Northwest, and Dr. Francis L. Hawks for the Southwest, which appointment, however, the latter declined.

To return to the year 1823, beyond which we have traced the course of the Missionary Society, we find that there was an evident expansion all through these years of the church's life. The consecration, in 1823, of John Stark Ravenscroft to the bishopric of North Carolina forced into prominence a marked character whose impress is still strong on the church at the South. The diocese had only

been organized in 1817, and consisted of four churches, three surviving from the colonial period, namely, St. James's, Wilmington, St. Paul's, Edenton, and Christ Church, New Berne; and one new one added, St. John's, Fayetteville. This work of organization was simply meant to gather together what remained of the old colonial churches. Bishop Moore, of Virginia, gave them occasional episcopal oversight until 1823, when Ravenscroft was elected bishop.

John Stark Ravenscroft was unlike the men who had been previously admitted to the episcopate, in that he had lived an utterly godless though not a dissolute life until he was thirty-eight years old, and had been admitted deacon at the ripe age of forty-five. He was born in Virginia, 1772, of Scotch parentage, and, while of gentle blood and breeding, exhibited both before and after his conversion the blunt pertinacity and pugnacity of his race. He combined with his Scotch obstinacy the ardor of a Virginian; and when once his feet were turned into the right path, he walked unflinchingly in it. His conversion was a very marked one, and his theological opinions and ecclesiastical convictions bore the impress of it. The doctrines of grace, so called, formed the substance of his preaching. Being consciously converted himself, he believed in bringing others through a similar experience. Withal he was a strong High-churchman ecclesiastically, demanding for the satisfaction of his soul a demonstrable authority for those rites and sacraments which incorporated him into the church and preserved him in the covenant of grace. After a ministry of six years in Virginia he undertook the rule and oversight of the four churches of North Carolina, and of the other scattered sheep of the Episcopal fold within its borders who had no sheepfold and no shepherd. Before his death, in 1830,

three. He accomplished this result by incessant labor and by a promptness and devotion beyond praise. Such journeyings, and such wildness both of nature and of man to be encountered in them! They seemed only to inflame the whole soul of the intrepid bishop. He was called the lion-hearted, and, from the description of the energy and roar of his preaching, he might well have been called the lion-mouthed. Force was his distinguishing characteristic; and his brusqueness and bluntness often gave offense. But there was a force of affection as well as of speech and action, and it was quite as characteristic of him. On his death-bed he said, "I have many pardons to ask of my fellow-men for my harshness of manner toward them, but," striking his heart, he exclaimed, "there was no harshness here." Sternness and severity were apparent in him because they were real in him. They were the sternness and severity of a man who has felt his own need of them in gaining deliverance from sin, and he believed others needed them as well as he. "There are times when you must not withhold the terrors of the law, but pour them boiling hot into their hearts," he once said to one who pleaded for occasional mildness in preaching; and the impression of his own sermons is seen in the remark of a hoary sinner, one of his hearers: "O sir, you have made me feel as I have never felt before; God is greatly to be feared."

Such a man, of commanding height and mien, of stormy energy, of intense devotion, of clear-cut convictions, tinged with the gloom and earnestness of a rescued soul, could not fail to make a deep mark on the men he wrestled with and the church he ruled. He was virtually a missionary in his own diocese, and his work and his character are stamped indelibly upon it. Such men have their limitations, but their influence is abiding. No one

in North Carolina during or after Bishop Ravenscroft's rule could dare repeat the old reproach that the church he served guarded the decencies but neglected the essentials of religion. He won respect for its rigor and earnestness. He made it a power which has not waned.

Other consecrations to the episcopate followed that of Ravenscroft, whose influence was more felt at a subsequent period than this. Henry U. Onderdonk became assistant to Bishop White in 1827, amid scenes of partisan conflict which foretold the coming contention of parties who could not understand or appreciate one another until the vigor of their youth had by experience gained a calmer and broader wisdom. The denominational spirit long prevailed in the body which laid emphasis on its churchliness; and its violent manifestation at this election vexed the soul of the venerable White, who had laid the foundations of the church on the basis of mutual comprehension, and not of one-sided domination.

William Meade, who had been a candidate in the Pennsylvania election, and withdrawn from it, became the assistant of Bishop Moore, of Virginia, in 1829; a veritable coadjutor, who shared the convictions of his chief, and long after him ruled the diocese in the same spirit. William Murray Storer succeeded Bishop Kemp as Bishop of Maryland in 1830, a compromise candidate between Dr. Wyatt on the one side and Drs. Henshaw and Johns on the other. For seven years he filled with dignity that most difficult position, in which it is almost impossible to satisfy either of the electing parties, because the actual bishop is the first choice of neither. In the same year Benjamin T. Onderdonk began his troubled episcopate of New York, in succession to Bishop Hobart; and in 1831 Levi Silliman Ives succeeded Bishop Ravenscroft in North Carolina.

advocacy of Dr. Whittingham, afterward the great Bishop of Maryland; and the new diocese, under the wise rule of Bishop De Lancey, fully vindicated the wisdom of the procedure.

At this last Convention before the death of Bishop White the clergy list, which in 1811 had contained one hundred and sixty-nine names (Virginia not included), had grown to include seven hundred and sixty-three. The two bishops, with twenty-five clerical and twenty-two lay deputies who were in attendance on Convention then, were now represented by fourteen bishops, sixty-nine clerical and fifty-one lay deputies. Nine States were represented in 1811; in 1835 twenty-one.

Within the year following the Convention of 1835 Bishop White was called to his rest. He was preparing to preach at the consecration of Bishop McCoskry, which took place July 7, 1836, when he was taken ill, July 2d, and, lingering till July 17th, died in the same peaceful serenity in which he had lived. He was eighty-eight years of age and in the fiftieth year of his episcopate. The course of his life in the church has been indicated in the history of the events in which he took part. It was an illustration of the beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers." He had won universal respect. His chief service had been that of counselor; and the foundation of the national church was due to him more than to any other man. He was, however, faithful in all things, and if not largely endowed with the modern spirit of stirring activity, he was intrepid in the discharge of every parochial and civic duty. He remained at his post unflinchingly for weeks during the ravages of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, when many ministers had left the city. He stood for things honest and of good report in civil life

voluntarily a general suspension of business. The public authorities, the various literary, charitable, and religious societies, the clergy and members of different Christian churches, as well as those of his own communion, composed the immense funeral procession, which was witnessed by many thousands who thronged the streets, and who preserved silence and good order throughout. His name had been a tower of strength to the church in the days of its infancy. During its youthful years nothing tended more than his unflinching advocacy to divest it of a foreign aspect and commend it to the respect of his countrymen. In its later life his steadfast enthusiasm and approval greatly aided its establishment as a potent factor in the religious history of the American people.

CHAPTER XVI.

I THE DEATH OF BISHOP WHITE TO THE EN THE CIVIL WAR (1835–65).

CHANGE had come over the temper of the c g the last years of Bishop White. A chang ise impending in the mind and method of the ch . In the crystallization of parties there lay the ich internal and unprofitable strife, and also of ous and aggressive life. In replacing the Stat e diocesan principle, a force was set free which hurch more fully to the course of the nation's de . Through its missionary bishops it now bec organized church in the Territories as well as s, and though it accomplished but a tithe of it cerned it, owned it, and labored at it. This wa e efforts of what now became fully recognized ict parties, each suspicious and distrustful of the striving for the mastery, and failing to see how postulates were true, the other had any right of ever.

otwithstanding the anomaly of internal dissensi nal progress, this time of strife was the time

this period Bishop Kip became the first bishop of the Pacific coast, going out to the miners of California in 1853. Bishop Scott planted the church in Oregon, 1854; and Bishop Washington Lee began to rule it in Iowa the same year. Henry Benjamin Whipple went to Minnesota in 1859; now the sole survivor of the Western pioneer bishops, worthy to live on as witness of what consecrated service can accomplish for native Indians and encroaching white men. He lives; and we may not write his epitaph, for that could only be eulogy. And there have been Talbot in the Northwest and Indiana, Gregg in Texas, Freeman and Lay in Arkansas, Rutledge in Florida, Vail in Kansas, Clarkson in Nebraska, and Randall in Colorado, all appointed within this period, and all pioneers in their respective fields. They stand as witnesses not only to the personal devotion and self-sacrifice which the gospel inspires, but to an expansion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which has made the church coterminous with the national domain.

During this period forty-four bishops were consecrated, nearly three times as many as survived at the death of Bishop White; and had the proportional increase of the first half of the period continued, the church would have now almost dominated the religious life of the nation. The numerous details of this wonderful expansion cannot in the allotted space be stated, nor is there even room for the grateful mention of the many noble men and women who have by their labors produced it. We can only indicate certain of its salient features which serve to illustrate the rest. By 1850 the seven hundred and sixty-three clergymen of 1835 had more than doubled, having reached the number of fifteen hundred and fifty-eight; and during the last half of this period, or by 1865, the clergy list re-

cants, who in 1835 numbered about thirty-six thous
in 1850 had risen to almost eighty thousand; and by
nearly one hundred and fifty thousand were reported

But the church's growth was not only along the
of geographical extension and numerical increase.
features which distinguish it became more clear-cut
more influential, and by the force of their own chara
brought it into prominence and multiplied its clergy
its membership. Its worship took on a more dign
mien and a warmer tone. Through the efforts espec
of Dr. Muhlenberg, its hymnody was enriched and enlar
Church architecture was improved, receiving its most
tent impulse from the erection of the present edifice
Trinity Church and Grace Church, New York, and c
ing a new taste and knowledge in church building and
nishing, which has revolutionized the appearance of ch
edifices throughout the country. Stained glass cam
and vested choirs of men and boys appeared. Rec
chancels became the rule; and pulpit and reading-
were so placed on either side of it as to make the
table evident, and give it the dignity of chief posi
The old three-decker arrangement, of high pulpit, l

ner of the Cross," the "Episcopal Reader," and many more, evidenced growth of church interest, but also increase of church strife, which they did nothing to allay, but everything to inflame. The first half of this period, especially, was witness to strenuous and vigorous advance, but an advance along party lines. Even the educational institutions now founded partook of the same spirit. Genuine religious enthusiasm and principle lay at their foundation; but Nashotah, established as an associate mission in 1842, was as strongly contrasted with Bexley Hall, inaugurated at Gambier in 1839, as Racine in Wisconsin has been distinguished from Griswold College in Iowa, both born within this period.

The missionary life of the church seemed to turn into like limited channels. In 1835 there was a sort of tacit understanding, which men of the stamp of Bishop Alonzo Potter, Dr. Sparrow, and Dr. Stephen H. Tyng opposed, that the foreign department of missions should be in the hands of the Evangelicals, and the domestic field should be directed by the High-churchmen. The consequent growth at home, and the proportionate increase in representation at the General Convention, of High-churchmen wrought so much in favor of the influence of the latter that, under the sense of unfair disadvantage, the Low-churchmen, in 1860, organized the American Church Missionary Society, to try to recover their prestige in the newer parts of the country. Thus it came about that even in its missionary department the church seemed to rise in arms against itself. Happily this state of affairs did not last long; and the general and special missionary organizations became in 1877 auxiliary to each other. But for a while strong party feeling ruled in the missionary work of the church.

This spirit was not so apparent in the foreign wo
that was distant; and Bishop Boone, who went as miss
bishop to China in 1844, had other tasks than party
fare to accomplish, as had also Bishop Payne, who w
Africa in 1851. Horatio Southgate was thought t
Low-churchman when he was sent to Turkey as miss
bishop in the domains of the sultan in 1844. He ha
viously labored for several years among the Mohamm
and was now instructed to seek for friendly inter
with the Eastern Christians, and to exert an influe
their enlightenment, rather than to suggest intercon
ion with them. His methods of doing so, ho
excited much criticism by Low-churchmen at hom
feared he was being more influenced by the Greek C
than influencing it. When, therefore, he returned
in 1849, with the ideas he had imbibed in his five
residence in Constantinople, to attempt the separat
his mission from the jurisdiction of the Foreign Com
and to transfer it into the hands of the House of Bi
the mission was eventually allowed to drop. The
be no doubt that the bishop's advanced churchm
had much to do with this result.

suspected the other of disloyalty, and hence the clash of arms. Each was striving for the right to be. At the time this seemed to involve the denial of the other's right to be.

The two parties whose rival action is so characteristic of this period were not the products of it. They were representatives of the two tendencies, the subjective and the objective, in religious thought and life, which always exist, and must exist, and which were distinctly apparent in the colonial churches and in the earlier years of the national church, before the death of Bishop White. They were both stimulated by the Oxford Movement, whose effects were quite as apparent in America as in England, and each became more active as the growing life of the church enlarged its sphere of influence. Bishop Griswold in New England, Bishop Philander Chase in Ohio and Illinois, and Bishop Channing Moore in Virginia had exerted their influence along the lines of the Evangelical school in molding the church life of their respective dioceses; while Bishop Seabury in Connecticut, Bishop Hobart in New York, and Bishop Ravenscroft in North Carolina had left an equal impress of the High-church system on their respective fields of labor. The parties were not at first very distinct from each other in theological tenets. Each claimed to be the especial champion of the orthodoxy of the Prayer-book, while they laid emphasis on different parts of it. Biblical criticism was as yet dormant in America; and both parties held to the Bible with the same tenacious grasp, as an infallible authority in all matters ecclesiastical as well as theological.

The conduct of worship was very uniform. There was nothing in the symbolic adornments of the churches, in the dress of the officiating minister, in his gestures or postures or modes of administering the rites and offices of

public worship, by which one class of churchmen could be distinguished from another. The difference was not external, but internal; not at that time theological or ritual, but practical. The Evangelical laid strongest emphasis on the individual reception of grace; the High-churchman on the institutional administration of grace. The watchword of the one was experience; that of the other, authority. The one looked more to the personal Christian life; the other more to the corporate Christian life. It was inevitable, therefore, that they should regard the same doctrine and the same sacrament differently.

The Evangelical was very strenuous in the subordination of the letter to the spirit, of the form to the substance. He had great dread of formalism; and the early church life of the regions where this school most abounded gave a very salutary aspect to this dread. The formula went for little until interpreted by the heart and conscience. The great object of truth and worship was to bring the soul into direct contact with its Saviour, and unless this were accomplished no outward reverence was of any avail. This predominantly experimental Christianity brought with it inevitably a certain attitude toward various features of the church which distinguished its votaries from others. It became a bond of unity with other Christians of like experience, though not of the same ecclesiastical household. Affiliation with them became desirable and useful; and not to mark the differences, but to indicate the resemblances, between the two was recognized both as a duty and a privilege. Hence coöperative action with all denominations in Bible and tract and temperance societies marked the men of this mold. They never swerved from a strong attachment to the principle of episcopacy; but while they believed the historic episcopate to be undoubtedly the form in which the church was fashioned as

soon as its organization was complete, and that it was essential to the best ordering of the church, they did not find it a divine command in the Scriptures, and regarded it as a providential rather than as a positive institution.

The test of experience ruled here as in regard to worship, sacraments, and dogma. God's abundant blessing on the labors of non-Episcopal churches indicated to the Evangelicals that these were not without the essence of the church, though they might be deprived of some of its best advantages. Hence they fraternized more fully with other denominations than their more exclusive brethren. While they had unfeigned attachment to the liturgy, they advocated and practiced freer modes of worship in less formal assemblies than the stated Sunday congregations; and prayer-meetings and extemporaneous exhortations were highly prized as means of grace, as by Bishops Griswold and Channing Moore at an earlier period, so at this time by Drs. Milnor, Bedell, and Tyng. In regard to the liturgy, they held it to be thoroughly evangelical. They regarded the sacraments as means of grace therein offered and conveyed; but they emphasized the element of faith in the recipient as an essential condition of benefit from the same. The soul's attitude of acceptance was as indispensable as the divine attitude of proffer. Subjective experience must enter into sacramental communion. The whole subject of regeneration in baptism was somewhat indistinct and muddled while the term was identified, as it generally was, with moral change or conversion in the recipient, and many theories were broached to avoid or explain the direct and positive statements of the Baptismal Office. The hypothetical theory, the charitable-hope theory, the change-of-state theory, were, with many others, advocated

Calvinism in most of this school, which in some was not so mild; and in this they were distinguished, like the English Evangelicals, the Simeons, Romaines, and Venns, from the Wesleys, in so many other respects like them. And the explanation is that they sat at the feet of the English Reformers, while the Wesleys referred everything to the early fathers and the primitive church, before even Augustinianism was born. Practically they were not extreme, and their hearers were not racked with the tortures of absolute divine decrees and the harrowing uncertainties of unconditional election. They spoke to the heart and conscience, and from these their response came.

It cannot be doubted that this school, whatever its inconsistencies or party passion or assumptive monopoly of vital piety, rendered service of incalculable worth to the church's life. More than all others it drew the common people, and roused the church to spiritual sympathy with the general religious life of the community. It divested it of that air of ecclesiastical isolation which once made it seem to be in the community, but not of it; and it drew attention to the spiritual significance of its worship, which has won for it more and more appreciation. Within as without the church, this school has permeated and elevated the devotions of those farthest removed from its special tenets. Its demand for the direct contact of the soul with its personal Lord finds sacramental expression in the Eucharist of the Ritualist; and the Broad-churchman, rejoicing in the spiritual freedom of a living organism as contrasted with a constrained subjection to a mere prescriptive authority, may well say of the Evangelical fathers, "Other men labored, and we are entered into their labors." The High-churchmen who contended with them caught the glow of their zeal and felt the warmth of their enthusiasm, and made the system for which they contended, and in the

tion. Francis S. Key, Jay, Binney, Hugh Davy Evans, are types of men who have guided the church in Convention. But the direct personal appeal of the Evangelicals secured the earliest efforts of laymen in the strictly religious province; from which seed the after-harvest has been so prolific and salutary.

The men who led in this movement were the peers of any in the church. Of the bishops there were Meade and Johns of Virginia, Burgess of Maine, Eastburn of Massachusetts, Henshaw of Rhode Island, Lee of Delaware, Washington Lee of Iowa, Chase of Illinois, Elliott of Georgia, Polk of Louisiana, Smith of Kentucky, Alonzo Potter and Stevens of Pennsylvania. Of the presbyters, Drs. Milnor, Bedell, Johns, and Tyng[1] were most prominent, by reason of their extraordinary pulpit power and the vast numbers whom they gathered into the communion and parish life of the church. Beside them stood John S. Stone of Brooklyn and Boston, Dr. Crocker of Providence, and Dr. Sparrow of the Virginia Seminary, the profoundest theological mind of the party. Then, too, there were Dr. Richard Newton of Philadelphia, who swept the children into the church and developed the Sunday-school into a power; and Alexander H. Vinton of the whole church, a man of the mold of Daniel Webster, "*totus teres atque rotundus;*" and Samuel Clark, the brother of Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, who himself still stands as an advance-guard of the principles established and the liberties gained by this school. Space and time would alike fail to tell of Ridgely and Suddards and Cutler and Andrews and May, and later of Francis L. Hawks and Heman Dyer, and Drs. Goodwin and Butler, and John Cot-

ton Smith; all of them men of profound influence, ar
from the possession of native power and high chara
It was at one time thought that this school would b
most powerful and prominent of any in the church.
an organization, from its very nature, that could h
be. Its aim was not the construction of the whee
progress, but the quickening of the spirit which sh
animate them. In this it was largely successful.
the leaven, the party disappears to reappear in a ch
life raised and ennobled by it.

When we turn to their ecclesiastical opponents it i
to be assumed that the elements most pronounced an
the Evangelicals were wholly lacking in High-church
A high spiritual elevation marked many of their lea
as well as Hobart, their spiritual father. Who more
voted than Otey or more intrepid than Kemper;
than De Lancey or nobler than Whittingham? As
look at the list of the chief men who led and establi
this party we are forced to find some other explanati
their movement than an effort at obstructive repressi
spiritual freedom, or the establishment of mechanical
exclusive ecclesiasticism. Neither Brownell nor Will
of Connecticut, nor Henry U. Onderdonk of Pennsylv
nor generous and magnetic Doane of New Jersey,
learned Odenheimer, his successor, nor Upfold of Ind
nor Green of Mississippi, nor Lay of Easton, nor W

recognized both the defect and the danger of unregulated religious enthusiasm, and the necessity, for its proper regulation, of ancient precedent and primitive organization. Their idea was a church as distinguished from a denomination, by its being an inheritance instead of a manufacture; a regulative discipline in worship and creed, instead of a modern expression of individual convictions; a valid reproduction of primitive usage, and a trustworthy guide to the spiritual life which it was its object to awaken and sustain by means of the divinely ordered sacraments. In its doctrine of the sacraments it tended to divert men's attention from themselves and their emotions, and fix it upon God's attitude and intention as revealed and ministered in these means of grace. It looked fixedly, in fine, on the objective side of religion as a divine revelation and a positive institution. It was distrustful of all that seemed to overlook the continuity of its connection with the church of apostolic times.

There was in this attitude a reaction from the popular statement that religion is simply a matter between man and his Maker. To this school it was that; but it involved also a relation to the household of faith. There was a corporate as well as an individual life in Christianity, a union with the body of Christ as well as with Christ the head. The union with the head was to be accomplished in the body, therefore the body must be organic, and relation to it must be a duty as well as a choice. Hence the stress laid upon legitimacy of orders and valid administration of the sacraments.

The expression of these fundamental principles was doubtless sometimes narrow and extreme. They were looked at, perhaps, generally from their exclusive rather than their inclusive side; but they were in reality a vin-

opinion, and, rightly administered, tended to the estab
ment of spiritual freedom from the tyranny of sectarian

This movement to indicate the divine authority of
church was thus not a mere impulse of ecclesiastical
tension. It came in legitimately in a country where
church was left to vindicate and sustain itself without
least aid or countenance from the state. There wa
America a new condition of affairs in the history of
Protestant Christianity. In Europe the relations of ch
and state were fixed and intimate. In Lutheran Germ
as well as in Reformed England, not only support
countenance was given by the civil to the ecclesias
powers. "Here, for the first time since Constantine
religious element had been left absolutely without restr
and conditions of ecclesiastical development had been
plied such as exist nowhere else in Christendom.
religious organization had been allowed free scope, to
fold according to its own interior law, and solve afte
own way its distinctive ecclesiastical problem. The r
has been a quickening of ecclesiastical activity, and an

flicting sects there should arise an institution more permanent, more positive, more primitive, which, claiming apostolic lineage, should maintain the ancient prerogative of fostering and ruling the religious life of men. Thus, while the Evangelicals emphasized personal redemption, the High-churchmen emphasized the spiritual kingdom. Individuals must become incorporate into that supreme and spacious commonwealth, without whose wholesome restraints and benign supervision all bonds would be relaxed, all spiritual progress would falter, and all highest aims of Christian attainment or conquest fail of accomplishment.

Out of this general idea of the church the special views and methods of the High-church party sprang. They were accused of preaching the church rather than Christ; but they preached the church as the body of Christ, in which his Spirit especially dwelt and chiefly manifested its power. They did not advocate the church as a substitute for Christ, but as the vehicle of his own ordaining for the impartation and sustaining of his life. But the persistence with which they cried, "Hear the church," produced the impression that they did not heed the call, "Hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." The odium was attached to them of exalting a visible organization into the place of an invisible power. Externalism was their crying sin in the eyes of the opposite party. The growing attention to the details of worship, and the ordering of churches, and the observance of fasts and feasts, gave rise to the charge of formalism. "There is one body," cried the one; "There is one Spirit," responded the other; and neither seemed to think it possible that both might be united in the "one hope of their calling." What might have been conceived as parallel streams were regarded as counter-

lic bishop, Dr. Kendrick, publicly appealed to the bishops to submit to the Church of Rome, on the ground that the Oxford tracts had yielded almost every ground of dispute between the two communions; and Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, always ready for controversy, and delighting in it, made an indignant reply, and in American fashion challenged Bishop Kendrick to an oral discussion. But it was the Carey ordination in New York which sounded a note of alarm which sent a shudder through the church, and stirred Bishop Hopkins to write his celebrated "Letters on the Novelties which Disturb our Peace," which publication later on somewhat disturbed his own.

The ordination of Arthur Carey, involving, as it did, the first official recognition of the views of Tract 90 as legitimate in the church, created an impression altogether out of keeping with the importance of the candidate. He was, indeed, a young man of marked ability and singular sanctity of character, a graduate of the General Theological Seminary, forced into premature notice; for he graduated in 1842, too young for ordination. When he came up for examination in 1843 it was found that he accepted the teaching of Tract 90, and believed in the reconciliation of the Decrees of the Council of Trent with the Thirty-nine Articles, though it is said that he suggested that it was the Decrees which required explanation, and not the Articles. The Bishop of New York (B. T. Onderdonk) and his examining chaplains were satisfied of his essential orthodoxy; but two prominent presbyters (Dr. Henry Anthon and Dr. Hugh Smith) protested, and at the ordination service in St. Mark's Church repeated their protest in public. The ordination went on, and it was held that it committed the bishop and his examiners to the views of the candidate. It did not. It only established the fact that in their judgment the views were permissible within the comprehension of the church,

and maintained the constitutional right of the bishop to ordain when he and the constituted authorities were satisfied.

In the heat of the time it could not be seen, but the decision was a protest against personal and partisan rule. Even Dr. Stephen H. Tyng found in it no cause of presentment against the bishop; and Bishop Hopkins, who opposed it, deemed it objectionable as an error of judgment only. Nevertheless the whole church was set on fire. Pamphlets descended in showers. So great was the agitation that Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, of Pennsylvania, deemed it inexpedient for Bishop Hopkins to deliver his lectures on the British Reformation in Philadelphia, lest they should increase the strife. For this he was denounced as a ma-

The General Convention of 1844, of which this sad history forms a part, was a very stirring one. The long debates, extending from day to day, on the Oxford Movement somewhat cleared the air, but gave rise to no definite action concerning it. The only result was a resolution declaring "the liturgy, offices, and articles of the church sufficient exponents of her sense of the essential doctrines of Holy Scripture; and that the canons of the church afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standards; and, further, that the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of, and that the church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this church or otherwise." There were several special measures which diverted the attention from the general theological situation, and thus left the Convention uncommitted to one side or the other. In view of rumors concerning the unsoundness of the General Theological Seminary, a formal visitation of that institution by the bishops, in their capacity as visitors, was decreed. It was made, and resulted in a report of confidence. The case of the confirmation of Rev. Francis L. Hawks, historiographer of the church, as Bishop elect of Mississippi, was the occasion of a long and brilliant debate of a week's duration, which closed with a speech of such unrivaled eloquence by the candidate himself as to leave the Convention in a state of excitement too bewildering for wise decision, so that the matter was relegated to the judgment of the diocese itself.[1] The consecration of the three bishops (Chase of New Hampshire, Cobb of Alabama, and C. S. Hawks of Missouri) during the session, and the nomination of the three missionary bishops (Boone

[1] Dr. Hawks was subsequently triumphantly reëlected, but declined, as he did afterward an election to the diocese of Rhode Island. As an eloquent

trial began on the 10th of December, and continued until

rather a prolonged effort to secure a trial on the one
and to defeat it on the other. Bishop Doane, of
Jersey, had been forced into bankruptcy in his att
to found and foster Burlington College for the sons,
St. Mary's School for the daughters, of the church.
many a man of noble ideas, he lacked the financial sk
embody them in a successful institution. The Dioc
Convention of New Jersey had refused a proposed
vestigation. The three bishops, Meade, McIlvaine,
Burgess, than whom three purer never sat upon
episcopal bench, felt it imperative for the honor of
church that an investigation should be had; for rumo
dishonesty, or carelessness amounting to it, were ab
It was utterly repugnant and distressing to a man o
mold of Bishop Doane to be summoned to the bar o
church for moral delinquency. The nobility of his na
recoiled from such an accusation even. He was determ
that he would not be presented to his peers on su
charge if it could be avoided, and that he would, to
his own phrase, "make the trial of a bishop hard." T
is no doubt but that he prejudiced his cause in the ey
many by this stand. It was looked upon as another
movement of episcopal assumption. No matter; he

fully exonerated their bishop. The court assembled October 7th, and Bishop Doane resisted all further proceedings by it, on the ground that he had been exonerated by the Diocesan Convention, in July, on most of the charges, and that a canonically called Convention would examine what remained. The court, by a vote of seven to six, conceded the bishop's plea. A third presentment was made, but when a court of twenty-one bishops assembled in Camden, in September, 1853, to take action upon it, such legal points were raised that a committee appointed to consider the matter unanimously reported in favor of dismissing the presentment and discharging the respondent. The court unanimously concurred in the report of the committee, though vindicating the good faith of the presenters; and thus the so-called trial of Bishop Doane was no trial, and he never pleaded to any charge at the bar of the House of Bishops.[1]

During the years of this struggle a notable event in relation to the episcopate had occurred at the South. Bishop Ives, of North Carolina, resigned his office and seceded to the Church of Rome. It was a unique event, no other bishop in the whole Anglican communion having ever before or since taken such a step. The announcement of it was made in a letter to his diocese dated at Rome, December 22, 1852, whose closing sentence was: "I hereby resign into your hands my office as Bishop of North Carolina; and, further, I am determined to make my submission to the Catholic Church."

The act was the culmination of several years of vacillation, wherein the bishop had alternately alarmed and reassured his diocese, now giving assurances and now retracting

[1] The trial of Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, in his own diocese, on a charge of inveracity, resulted yet more grotesquely than the fiasco in New Jersey. The court, chosen by the diocese, returned the verdict "Guilty, but without the least criminality."

:s, which he had become satisfied was impractica
ions which had been introduced, expressing a w
dence, and asking for his resignation, were w
The purpose of presenting him to the General C
for trial was withheld. He went to Europe f
1 of six months in the early autumn of 1852, a
further notice to his diocese, before sailing le
ds of Archbishop Hughes, of New York, his abj
the faith in which he had been bred and exerc
:e. His church heard of it from Rome, where
ed to the Roman obedience. At the follow
Convention of 1853 he was, under the action
:anon, pronounced "*ipso facto* deposed to all int
'poses from the office of a bishop in the churc
d from all the rights, privileges, powers, and di
reunto pertaining." This sentence was pronour
e formality by the presiding bishop, sitting in
1 the presence of both houses.
was the most conspicuous of the secessions to R
ed by the stir of the Oxford Movement. Ot
e, but the loss had not been great. Some, "lo
good report," had been swept off their feet by
elling tide; but they had had small following,
numbered more than fifty. The action of Bis

tion which witnessed the deposition of Bishop Ives saw the beginning of a movement more significant than any which had occurred in the church's history. It was the presentation of the Memorial suggested and composed by Dr. Muhlenberg, and indissolubly identified with his name, which looked to bringing the communion out of the attitude of a denomination into the position of a church. Whatever claims had been made for it, the Protestant Episcopal Church had hitherto been ordered very largely in the spirit of a sect, or a particular household, adapted to a part only of the community, and hemmed in with regulations as to worship and action which could commend it to only a chosen few. Those within, as we have seen, had been clamorous for party predominance rather than for mutual recognition of one another's rights. The impression without had been largely ineffective on the masses of the population. It had made no adequate attempt to be the church of the people; and the Memorial contended that it could not, until its attitude was altered by enlarging the scope of a bishop's action, and by making the arrangements of its own household more flexible.

Before entering more fully into the details or the history of the Memorial Movement, it is well, for the understanding of both, to glance at the person and character of its proposer. William Augustus Muhlenberg was a rare man for any time. The elements of genius were abundant in him, and they were all suffused with the genius of common sense. Opposing qualities met in him, not in contention, but in mutual helpfulness; for a heavenly vision beckoned all his powers, and he was not disobedient to it. His child-like simplicity intensified the manliness of his understanding, while his sanctity of character made itself apparent in the brilliant flashes of his wit as well as in his alms-deeds and prayers. Like Bunyan's Pilgrim, when past the De-

heaven before he
ns of New York
'. But it was a

weekly communion, the divided services, the weekly offertory, the choir of men and boys, the festival commemoration, the Easter flowers, features of worship now general, were introduced by him for the first time in America, and all for the practical edification of the people, as well as for extending the influence of the church and amplifying the sphere of her possibilities. The practical side of church life, as well as the liturgical, found its ample development in him. His was the earliest sisterhood, at first informal, afterward organized. His practice first started the Fresh Air movement for the city's poor. His were the first Christmas trees for the Sunday-school. His Church Infirmary suggested and started his own movement for the founding of St. Luke's Hospital, the first church hospital of any Christian communion in the land.

All these things had taken shape before the Memorial Movement began, and that movement was meant to make possible and widespread in the general church what he had in a limited degree accomplished in his own parish. He loved the church in such measure that he would free it from restrictions which he saw hindered its expansion. He believed in it so intensely that he was sure of its competency to become the church of the nation, if only it would consent to develop its latent resources. As Hobart had reproduced Seabury in larger type and ampler spirit, so Muhlenberg stood related to Bishop White. He shared the large wisdom and broad spirit which had framed a church for a nation, but with the intuition of a seer he detected latent energies in it which might make it the nation's church. All the ardor of his genius was awakened to make real the vision which haunted him. He was an idealist of consummate practical force; and he was bent on transforming what was practically a liturgical denomination into what

claim, but in its accomplishment; a church which should be a center of unity to at least Protestant Christendom, and adapted to all sorts and conditions of men in the manifold working of its activities and the multiform adaptability of its worship. He was utterly weary of the contention of parties who would not understand one another, and was alive to the importance of combining their energies in the practical work of making the nation Christian and the church supreme in it, comprehensive of all types of goodness, aggressive against all forms of evil.

In the Memorial[1] there were associated with Dr. Muhlenberg men of mark; but he was the informing spirit. It was addressed "To the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Council Assembled," but it persisted in regarding them as "a College of Catholic and Apostolic Bishops," having a wide relation to the church of God as such, as well as to a fragmentary part of it. It did not so much ask for specific measures as suggest action according to certain indicated principles. Its chief inquiry was "whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public worship, and her traditional customs and usages, is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and in this age." The statement of its conviction was "that our church, confined to the exercise of her present system, is not sufficient to the great purposes above mentioned; that a wider door must be opened for admission to the gospel ministry . . . of men who could not bring themselves to conform in all particulars to our prescriptions and customs, yet sound in the faith." Its suggestion was that "an important step would thus be taken toward effecting church unity in the Protest-

[1] See Appendix D.

ant Christendom of our land." Its declaration of ultimate design was "to submit the practicability, under your auspices, of some ecclesiastical system broader and more comprehensive than that which you now administer, surrounding and including the Protestant Episcopal Church as it now is, leaving that church untouched, identical with that church in all its great principles, yet providing for as much freedom in opinion, discipline, and worship as is compatible with the essential faith and order of the gospel. To define and act upon that system, it is believed, must sooner or later be the work of an American catholic episcopate."

This Memorial was signed, together with Dr. Muhlenberg, by such men as Edwin Harwood, Alexander H. Vinton, M. A. De Wolfe Howe, and others, as also, with reservations, by A. Cleveland Coxe, John Henry Hobart, and Francis Vinton. Its scope was, briefly, to preserve intact the Protestant Episcopal Church for those who valued its special features of worship and discipline, but also to extend its jurisdiction over those who did not; in fine, to embrace in its system those who need not submit to its denominational peculiarities. Its aim was to make the church something more than a liturgical section of Christendom, and to show the catholicity of its constitution by the catholicity of its administration, not elevating things desirable to some into things necessary for all, but adapting the apostolic faith and order to the varying wants of communities and men.

This Memorial made a profound impression. The consideration of it was referred to a committee, by a vote of twenty to four, with instructions to report to the next General Convention. Bishop Otey was the chairman, and Bishops G. W. Doane, Alonzo Potter, George Burgess, and John Williams were the members of it, a committee so

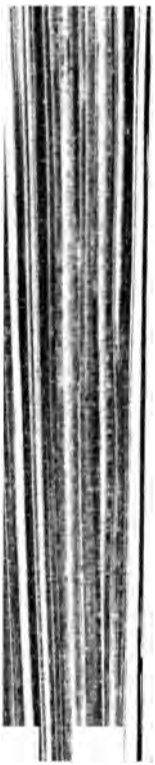
weighty as to show the importance attached to the sub
The church, though startled into interest, was not read
the scheme, which, nevertheless, proposed to satisfy
expressed aims of both parties: of the Evangelicals, in
wider spread of the gospel and the more flexible use of
liturgy; of the High-churchmen, by extending the juris
tion of the episcopate and constituting it the center of u
Most of those who reported upon it at the next Ge
Convention failed to grasp the fullness of its conceptio
were distrustful of it.

A preliminary report was offered at the beginning o
session in 1856, in expectation of some action at the o
of the discussion. It did not go to the heart of the sub
but indicated certain concessions or directions in the u
the liturgy, in the separation of services, and other su
matters, and recommended that a commission of five b
ops be appointed at each General Convention to sit
commission on church unity. The long report introd
at the end of the Convention did little more. The ch
had not risen to the height of Dr. Muhlenberg's con
tion. It could not safely legislate on what it did
fully comprehend. The settlement of the questions
gested was largely left for future consideration. In n

Memorial was the seed of the revision movement, as it also was of the celebrated Declaration concerning Unity, promulgated at the Convention of 1886, and by the Lambeth Conference of 1888.

But there was one who at the time of the Memorial comprehended its meaning and saw its worth. It was that statesmanlike bishop, Alonzo Potter, of Pennsylvania, who became the champion of the principles which underlay the whole movement. In his efforts to emancipate the liturgy from the slavish yoke of the letter, to remove the bars to the progress of the apostolic ministry, to bring out the undeveloped powers of the church and utilize its every instrument to reach and elevate all conditions of men and departments of life, he showed himself a master builder on the foundations which Dr. Muhlenberg had laid bare.

He had been chosen Bishop of Pennsylvania in 1845, at a time when the Episcopal Church was divided by a wide and deep cleavage into two great parties, each of which regarded the other with distrust, if not aversion. One of these accounted itself as having all the piety, and the other all the loyalty and good manners, in the church. Each of them contemplated the growth of the other as an event to be deprecated and discouraged. At such a juncture Bishop Potter came to Pennsylvania as the choice of a majority, but not a large majority, of the clergy and laity, and in the expectation that he would be a tolerant bishop. Men soon found that he was something else, and more. He was sometimes called the "schoolmaster bishop," and his training was occasionally thought to smack of the classroom and the college from which he had come. But as a matter of fact Union College had been the best training for the task to which he was called. He was neither unctuous nor "sacerdotal" in his manners, but he was intelligently sympathetic.



episcopate the highest order of ecc
He never intrigued for ecclesiastica
for official recognition; but the ch
where, and his office evoked a co
edented, because he interpreted
and noble to the best intelligence c
his work in Pennsylvania was end
in that great commonwealth, and t
come to be, in the minds of its c
and more than they had ever bef

Through the Memorial, whose
Bishop Potter gathered and prese
and inspiration, the church had r
united and positive advance, whic
into accord with its principles, a
amid all its diversities of operation.
to gain instant acceptance, or to a
to raise the lump to the height
"give over the attempt to cast a
mold"; to "cherish among her ow
ance of opinion in doctrine and ta
to be truly catholic, as well as clai
the author of the Memorial did n
required the tumult of the ritualisti

Bishop George Burgess, of Maine, was making the impression of his scholarly mind and earnest soul visible through all New England, of which at this time he was the most able and eminent representative. California and Oregon had received their bishops, and no more glances were thrown toward the Greek Church across the Pacific, which in the very beginning, when California seemed nearer to Russia than to the Eastern United States, had been contemplated as a source of orders for the churchmen gathered there. The church life, which had been cherished by the Rev. Flavel S. Mines during the years before Bishop Kip came, was now becoming regularly organized. At the Northwest, lying east of the Rocky Mountains the apostolic, Kemper, after founding and fostering the church in Missouri, Indiana, Iowa, and Minnesota, through incredibel hardships and by a devotion as heroic as had marked any age of the church, accepted the bishopric of Wisconsin in 1859, taking the title of missionary bishop in that wilderness jurisdiction, but not changing his work. The associate mission at Nashotah, where he resided, had become an important center of education, both secular and theological, for the region; and James Lloyd Breck, who had assisted at its foundation in 1841, in 1857 founded the educational institutions of Faribault, Minn., which Bishop Whipple, since 1859, has so wonderfully developed. The work of Breck deserves larger recognition than it is possible to give it here. It was a marvelous instance of religious devotion in adhesion to the strictest ecclesiastical principles, and combined with a pioneer instinct which made him restless at the approach of the civilization for whose advantage his numerous schools were established and his many churches formed. He founded them so securely that when left to the care of others they survived and grew, while he pressed on to new efforts for Indians yet more remote and for set-

majority, in opposition to a proposal to eliminate "Protestant" from the title, or to substitute the name "Reformed Catholic." The diocese of Alabama was empowered to proceed, under existing regulations, to elect a bishop. After the adjournment of the Convention Dr. R. H. Wilmer was elected Bishop of Alabama, and was consecrated by Bishop Meade in Richmond, Va., March 6, 1862. By this act more strongly than by any resolution the church proclaimed itself an independent ecclesiastical body. Yet the whole attitude of the body, while maintaining with unmistakable emphasis its political or national independence, was one of thorough accord with the old church in all other respects. The resolutions, the reports, the pastoral letters issued from time to time, breathed a spirit of friendly intercommunion in all ecclesiastical and doctrinal affairs. In the ordering of divine Providence the separate existence of the church in the Confederate States was of so brief a continuance that there is no need to further trace its history.[1] Its action was such as to leave no invincible obstacle to a complete reunion when once the political situation was changed. Its one bishop who had entered the Southern army had fallen, and all men honored his motive and his spirit, while they deplored his action and his fate. Arkansas, which had become a diocese, of necessity lapsed into its previous condition as a missionary jurisdiction, and its bishop was continued in the position to which he had been appointed before the war. The consecration of the Bishop of Alabama was confirmed and ratified on his making the usual "promise of conformity comprised in the Office for the Consecration of Bishops."

The attitude of the church at the North was identical

[1] For a complete account see Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," vol. ii., pp. 560–592, being a monograph by Rev. John Fulton, D.D., entitled "The Church in the Confederate States." It is ample, thorough, and impartial.

ceeded to do so in the face of a limited but vigorous protest. The House of Clerical and Lay Delegates passed the resolutions of the committee of nine, of which the third is expressive of their purport, and which ran as follows: "*Resolved*, That while as individuals and as citizens we acknowledge our whole duty in sustaining and defending our country in the great struggle in which it is engaged, we are only at liberty, as deputies to this council of a church which hath ever renounced all political association and action, to pledge to the national government—as we do now—the earnest and devout prayers of us all that its efforts may be so guided by wisdom and replenished with strength that they may be crowned with speedy and complete success, to the glory of God and the restoration of our beloved Union."

A solemn service was held by the Convention in Trinity Church, whose rector[1] was the son of one of the most distinguished Union generals; being "a service of fasting, humiliation, and prayer," in view "of the present afflicted condition of the country"; and the offertory at the service was in behalf of the Sanitary Commission. By word and deed the church thus stood boldly and unfalteringly by the nation, as thoroughly identified with its cause as the church in the Confederate States was identified with the newly projected government at the South. This attitude was

[1] The Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., the rector for more than thirty-five years of Trinity Church, New York City, is distinguished in the literary as well as the theological world as the author of "The Life of General Dix," his father, and also of sermons and lectures on many topics of ecclesiastical interest. Besides recognition of his efficient management of the vast concerns of his great parish, he is entitled to the gratitude and admiration of the whole church for the dignity, impartiality, and intelligence with which he has presided during four sessions of the General Convention over the proceedings of the House of Deputies. The justness of his rulings, combined with the courtesy of his manners, has guided the legislature of the church safely

maintained in the pastoral letter of the House of Bis
delivered, under circumstances of unusual solemnit
the final morning service, which included, contrary to
vious custom, the administration of the holy commu
This pastoral letter made the more marked impressio
cause it had been the subject of controversy. By re
of the illness of Bishop Brownell, Bishop Hopkins, of
mont, the next in succession, took his place as pres
bishop of the Convention, and he had prepared a dra
a pastoral letter excluding all reference to the national
as irrelevant and opposed to proper ecclesiastical ac
He was so strenuous in his opposition to the pastoral l
written by the conspicuously loyal Bishop of Ohio[1] th
refused to appear in the chancel at the service when it
read, and the chair of the acting presiding bishop
conspicuously vacant until after its delivery. That w
marked his personal disapprobation emphasized the
the determined attitude of the Convention. It was a
titude which pronounced the Protestant Episcopal Ch
a church *of* the nation as well as a church *in* the na
It exalted patriotism above party, and must have

disloyalty to the government. He desired the perpetuity of the Union, but his loyalty was clogged by the conviction, expressed by him in a pamphlet, that secession was a constitutional right of the States. He proposed to submit the question for settlement to the Supreme Court, a procedure which, under the circumstances, was like committing the management of a coming cyclone to a meteorological bureau. The pamphlet containing these sentiments was written, as hostilities were awakening, to prove the right of negro slavery to exist to-day from the recognition of white slavery of old in the Bible. Thus committed to the right of secession and the moral lawfulness of the institution in whose defense it was attempted, Bishop Hopkins was out of sympathy with the public sentiment about him. He did not mind that. The *per fervidum ingenium* of his Celtic blood inclined him to controversy, and he had long been conspicuous in it. He was a man of versatile talents. Literature, art, science, music, as well as law and theology, occupied at times his attention, and he was thus regarded more as a widely read than as a deeply learned man. His legal training, which was his strong point, inclined him to rest content in precedent rather than to profoundly study ultimate principles. In the expression of his opinions there was an assertive eloquence which affirmed the positiveness of his own convictions, and which attracted attention even when it failed to secure the conviction of others. He had not always appeared on the same side of ecclesiastical questions, and the variations of the needle had been too marked to enable him to point with certainty the course which the church might think best to follow. Concerning the political situation he was, however, as dogmatic as in theology, and he determined that the church should follow his bent even if it did not share his opinions. His design was frustrated, and his

some of the bishops left the chancel and sought him amid the worshipers and urged his presence among them, the public recognition was too convincing of the general sentiment, and he yielded and joined them at the altar, to the great joy of all present. At the first business session of the Convention the secretary of the House of Deputies proceeded, as he had at the Convention of 1862, to call for the Southern deputies, the roll beginning with Alabama. The general failure of response did not diminish the validity of the recognition, and the answer to the roll-call by clerical and lay delegates from Tennessee, North Carolina, and Texas gave indication and promise that the absence of the South was but temporary. Bishop Lay, of the Southwest, had joined Bishop Atkinson, of North Carolina, in Philadelphia, and they together sent an inquiry, through Bishop Horatio Potter, to the House of Bishops concerning the terms on which they would be permitted to take their seats in the house. The Bishop of Maryland, whose loyalty was as unquestioned as his greatness, moved that "the Bishop of New York be requested to ask his brethren, in behalf of whom he had consulted the house, to trust to the honor and love of their assembled brethren." Such courtesy and confidence were irresistible. The reunion of the church was cemented by the charity which "thinketh no evil." As the church had maintained its loyalty, so it could without peril manifest its concession; and in the service of "thanksgiving for the restoration of peace to the country and unity to the church" it refrained from all expressions which could wound those who were once again represented in its assembly. Some thought that too much deference was shown, but it was an indication of a spirit of reconciliation and peace. The few obstacles to complete reunion, as we have before related, were soon removed, and all traces of strife presently vanished away.

The church, which in 1859 had, by the election of Dr.
bot as Bishop of Nebraska and the Northwest, an
Dr. Lay as Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the So
west, made its jurisdiction coextensive with the bound
of the United States, was again one throughout the w
national domain. The consecration of Bishop Quin
for the vacant Southern diocese of Tennessee crowned
work of reunion by a most significant act; and the pres
and participation in the service of Bishop Fulford, m
politan of Montreal, contributed to a growing sens
the unity of the church throughout the whole Ame

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE REUNION OF THE CHURCH TO THE PRESENT TIME (1865–95).

THE fullness of life which characterized the nation after the cessation of the war was characteristic also of the church. Before that lamentable interruption of its activities all the elements of successful advance had been found present in it. It had become in 1859 coextensive in its episcopate with the national domain. It was increasing its educational institutions. Its missionary operations were thoroughly organized and efficient. Its worship was taking on a warmer tone, and its church buildings displaying a nobler type. The controversies through which it had passed had sobered its mind and softened its heart. Even its course during the war was one of advancing growth.

All the favorable features of its organization now received an impetus and an enlargement consequent on the experience which the civil conflict had engendered. The movements of armies, constituted largely in their ranks as in their officers of the educated classes, had given a larger scope to the general intelligence. Men had traveled far, and seen strange communities, and awakened to a sense of wider relations, in their pursuit of war. All forms of religious belief and organization had been jostled together in the companionship of arms, and the humanitarian work of the Sanitary and Christian commissions had enlisted the labors of Christians of many names. The [illegible]

God," by Rev. Elisha Mulford, a far wider vision and a deeper philosophical conception, as well as a nobler literary form, than in any theological literature the church had previously produced.

Again, in her educational life the church in the last thirty years has greatly enlarged, as well as deepened, her work. The Philadelphia Divinity School was incorporated, under the auspices of Bishop Alonzo Potter, in the early years of the war, in 1862, when Northern students were cut off from the seminary at Alexandria. It was founded in no narrow spirit, but with the liberal conceptions of its great patron; and its course, under the able Dr. Goodwin, the scholarly Dr. G. Emlen Hare, and the genial and widely read Dr. Clement Butler, has been one of marked ability and value. The Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass., was incorporated just after the war, in 1867, founded by the munificence of Mr. Benjamin T. Reed, and since endowed with princely gifts by Mr. Robert M. Mason, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, and Mr. John A. Burnham, all of Boston. Under its successive deans, Dr. John S. Stone, Dr. George Zabriskie Gray, and Dr. (now Bishop) William Lawrence, together with its distinguished professors, it has made itself a power in the church. In the words of Dean Gray, "The aim has been to be independent of all schools or parties, and to make the teaching as comprehensive as the church itself, and as impartial toward all loyal members thereof." These two institutions, with the Western Theological Seminary, inaugurated at Chicago in 1885, are the principal new foundations for theological education of this period, but the schools earlier formed have also greatly increased their efficiency. The General Theological Seminary in New York has enlarged its teaching faculty and developed its curriculum and multiplied its students under the recent rule of Dean Hoffman, whose

its to make bishops, hoping, doubtless, that th
easure reflect the calm wisdom and intellectu
presiding bishop, who is its president. At
shotah has greatly strengthened her work, an
y Divinity School at Faribault, Minn., has,
piration of Bishop Whipple, recreated itself, ar
ower which the ardent Breck, who founded i
ld with all his prophetic imagination have h
ved. Besides these institutions, where the co
longer drawn, special provisions for the inst
ored candidates for the ministry have been m
titutions of Hoffman Hall, Nashville, Tenn.,
connection with Howard University), W
C., St. Augustine Training-school, Raleigh,
Bishop Payne Divinity School, Petersburg, V
In regard to collegiate institutions, there has
large an advance. St. Stephen's College,
nded in 1860, under the inspiration of Bisho
ter, of New York, by the liberality of Mr. John
ce been fortified in its endowments by the liber
v. Dr. Charles F. Hoffman; and Dr. Fairbairn, i
by his devotion and scholarly gifts added gre
ciency. It was chiefly intended to furnish
truction for future students for the ministry in

be a sort of St. Stephen's to the Nashotah Seminary, its whole effective life was bound up in Dr. James De Koven, who became warden in 1859. Dr. De Koven really made the institution all it ever came to be. He was a singularly magnetic man, and full of enthusiasm, imbued with the views of the advanced school, and their eloquent defender in the General Convention. He purposed making Racine "the church university of the West and Northwest"; and it was changed from a diocesan to a general institution in 1868, and in 1875 collegiate departments were established. So long as his presence was assured, students flocked to the college, and his hold upon the young men was extraordinary. But four years after his university scheme was developed he died, and from that sad date, March 19, 1879, the institution has been unable to realize the expectations which his genius had created for it. It is now conducted as a grammar-school.

Lehigh University, a collegiate and polytechnic institution, was founded and munificently endowed at South Bethlehem in 1865, by Asa Packer, a leading churchman of the diocese. It is conducted under general church auspices, but, like Columbia College, New York, is not in the restricted sense a church institution. It is already a great college, and stands deservedly high, especially in its scientific departments. Kenyon College, Ohio, founded so long ago by Bishop Chase, is also, under Bishop Leonard, developing a new and stronger life, with Bexley Hall as its theological department. In this period, too, Columbia College, first under President Barnard and since under President Low, has developed into a university of the first rank, and for scholarly influence in the church stands conspicuous above all its fellows. The munificent gifts of President Low and Mr. William C. Schermerhorn made while these sheets are passing through the press, show the con-

fidence of its friends in its future as one of the greatest collegiate foundations in the land.

Hobart College, at Geneva, N. Y., which, as we have seen, was begun by Bishop Hobart as an academy in 1811, but which received its collegiate charter in 1825 and took the name of its founder only in 1860, has within the last two decades made steady progress under the presidency of Dr. Eliphalet Potter, brother of the Bishop of New York. Recognizing the isolation and limitation of the scattered and small church colleges through the country, President Potter moved the General Convention in 1889 to establish "The Church University Board of Regents," with the general purpose of coördinating the separate church colleges into a church university system. Already certain scholarships, to be awarded by the university examining board to the best competitor from any church institution, have been founded and awarded, and should the plan achieve its purpose it would greatly increase the efficiency and raise the tone of the scattered collegiate institutions of the church.

The most interesting and hopeful of the strictly church institutions which in this period have been virtually established is the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tenn. It was projected as a great Southern university, by Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, and other Southern bishops in 1856, and the corner-stone of the main central edifice was laid in the autumn of 1860. The war swept everything away, but within a year after its close the enterprise was resumed through the exertions of the Bishop of Tennessee, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Quintard. It has since grown largely in everything but material endowment, which it awaits with confidence of the assured desert. Its organization consists of a grammar-school, an academic, a theological, a medical, and a law department; and all the Southern

bishops are on its board of trustees, Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, being chancellor of the university and president of the board. For the details of its history and struggle there is no space, but it were unjust not to mention the great debt it owes for its remarkable measure of success to the ability and devotion of Dr. Thomas F. Gailor as chancellor, now assistant Bishop of Tennessee. According to the record of Dr. Du Bose, the accomplished dean of its theological faculty, "The University of the South was conceived in the most catholic spirit, and is designed to be in the truest sense broad and comprehensive. Under the control and influence of the church, it draws to itself representatives of all faiths and opinions. The North as well as the South, and England as well as America, have always contributed to its list of students. In every department of learning the utmost freedom of thought and research is allowed and practiced, influenced, but not restrained or narrowed, by the Christian character of the institution. As a church university it has this guaranty against any one-sided development in matter of doctrine or practice, against its ever becoming identified with any one school or party in the church: that it represents a wide constituency, and most particularly that its religious teaching and worship are under the immediate and constant supervision of the twelve bishops associated in it." In its endeavor to represent the whole church it has struck the true key-note of a church institution.

It was the happy thought of the late lamented Bishop Harris, of Michigan, to utilize the State University for the use of the church, instead of setting up a feeble rivalry to it by inaugurating a separate church college. He made arrangements, through the generous aid of Governor Baldwin, a leading churchman of his diocese, for a hall and

of the State University might be supplemented with
tures and instruction in those subjects which church
deem of importance, and thus utilizes for the church
State endowment and its distinguished faculty, in re
to the general subjects which all universities teach in
mon. This most wise adaptation of church teachin
the system of public education has met the cordial
couragement of the distinguished President Angell, o
University of Michigan, and of the faculty, and has
to the church the advantages of an institution of the
rank. The example has been followed elsewhere,

where the Catechism has been the basis of religious instruction, and the ritual of the church duly rendered in a glowing and beautiful service. Its aim has been to cultivate Christian character as well as to impart sound scholarship. And it has been eminently successful. In its influence on the church schools which have sprung up in its wake all over the land (notably St. Mark's at Southboro', the school of Dr. Peabody at Groton, Mass., and the school of Dr. Toomer Porter at Charleston, S. C.) it has stood as Rugby stood to the English public schools after Dr. Arnold became its incomparable head master. From a group of five or six boys it has grown to an assemblage of about three hundred scholars. From one or two small buildings its ample halls and dormitories and noble chapel have enlarged its appearance to that of a village. And this extension of its outward features has been but commensurate with and expressive of the excellence of its scholarship and the elevation of its moral tone. This great work is due in abounding measure to Dr. Coit. It is, of course, evident that he was a good scholar, a devout Christian, and a thorough gentleman; but these elements of character are incompetent to explain his phenomenal success, without the higher attribute of educational genius, which was largely his. His recent death is a loss to the whole church which it is impossible to adequately measure.

Numerous church schools for girls (of which St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J., still efficiently maintained, was the norm and type) are found all over the land: in the Wolfe School at Denver, Colorado, and St. Mary's Hall, Faribault, as well as in St. Agnes's at Albany, and St. Mary's, of the Cathedral Foundation, at Garden City, Long Island. These schools are a chief instrument of gaining and extending church influence in the newer missionary jurisdictions.

church schools within the last thirty years have taken
with the older foundations at Exeter and Andover,
stand in generous rivalry with them.

In its missionary activity the last period of the chu
life is more than abreast with that of its past history
owes much to the able men who have been its agents
secretaries. One of them, Dr. A. T. Twing, served
Domestic Board from 1866 to 1882, and by incessant
and incomparable tact invigorated the whole departn
In 1863 the contributions for domestic missions
$37,458; in 1882 they amounted to $228,375. Wher
Twing became secretary there were but four missio
bishops and ninety-nine missionaries; when he died
had increased to thirteen missionary bishops and
hundred and forty-six clergymen. Among them
numbered some of the noblest sons of the church, w
indefatigable labors have laid sure foundations for her f
in the Western territories. The record of their nam
inspiring to all who have known of their denials and
votion. There are Clarkson of Nebraska, Randall of C
rado, Tuttle of Utah (now of Missouri), Morris of Ore
and Whitaker of Nevada (now of Pennsylvania), al
pointed after the war and before 1870. Since then, in

And there are Spalding of Colorado, Elliott of Western Texas, Wingfield of Northern California, Garrett of Northern Texas, Dunlop of New Mexico, Brewer of Montana, and Paddock of Washington, all sent out to "perils in the wilderness" before 1880 had ended. Within the last decade we find added to this efficient staff Walker of North Dakota, Talbot of Wyoming and Idaho, Johnson of Western Texas, Leonard of Nevada and Utah, Kendrick of Arizona and New Mexico, Graves of the Platte, Wells of Spokane, Gray of Southern Florida, Brooke of Oklahoma, and Barker of Western Colorado. A record of names is but a slight tribute to labors such as theirs, and only a faint indication of the vast results accomplished by them for the church. While planting churches and founding schools, these have confronted the Mormon with her message, and welcomed the Indian to her fold.

In the department of foreign missions the church does not show a proportionate development, and for the reason that domestic missions are largely foreign, in their ministrations to the natives of all European and Eastern countries who throng the Western territories. China, Japan, India, Armenia, as well as all the countries of Europe, continue sending swarms of their poorer people to America, with no shepherd to fold them, and foreign missions lie at our very door. But the church has in this period sent out witnesses to other lands. As she had preceded the English Church in appointing a bishop for China in 1844, so, after Japan had been opened to the Western world by Commodore Perry, in 1852, she preceded her mother in that country. Two missionaries were sent to Japan in 1859, and one of them, the Rev. Channing M. Williams, was consecrated Bishop of Yedo in 1866, taking also jurisdiction in China, Bishop Boone having died two years before. Incessant toil and slow gains marked his episcopate at first; but

"steadfast, with a singleness of aim," he got at last a
hold for his admirable mission and established an effi
divinity school, as well as St. Paul's College, at To
Under the able management of Rev. Theodosius S. T
these schools are educating natives for missionary w
and children in the Christian faith. After the resign
of Bishop Williams, in 1889, the Rev. John McKim, I
was consecrated his successor as Bishop of Tokyo.
fruits of the church's labors in Japan are to be found i
fact that it possesses 76 mission stations, 20 clergy, 1
sionary physician, 25 foreign teachers and workers (in
ing wives of missionaries), 153 Japanese assistants, 17
tulants for orders; and that its last yearly record show
baptisms, 251 confirmations, 1597 communicants, 1141
scholars, 226 boarding-scholars, and 2113 Sunday-s
scholars.

In China the Rt. Rev. Dr. Schereschewsky succe
Bishop Williams in 1877, and his translation of the
into the Mandarin language is a work of rare schola
and of inestimable value. Ill health compelled him t
sign his position in 1884; but in sickness as in healt
continues his literary labors for the mission. His succ
in the bishopric, the Rt. Rev. William J. Boone, a son o

but receives aid from the church in the United States. Its condition in 1894 was as follows: clergy, 14; mission stations, 15; postulants, 2; lay readers, 19; teachers, 10; Sunday-school teachers, 10; baptisms, 51; confirmations, 33; communicants, 389; day-scholars, 244; Sunday-school scholars, 229. There is also a mission in Cuba, conducted by an American and two native presbyters, under the episcopal charge of Bishop Whitaker, of Pennsylvania, and in the care of the American Church Missionary Society, acting as an auxiliary to the Board of Missions. A Brazilian mission under the same care, and superintended by Bishop Peterkin, of West Virginia, is conducted by the Rev. Lucius L. Kingsolving and various native clergy. In 1894 it reported: stations, 14; chapels, 6; clergy, 8; baptisms, 50; confirmations, 142; communicants, 174; services, 838; Sunday-schools, 4; teachers, 16; scholars, 235; parochial day-schools, 3; teachers, 8; scholars, 120.

The mission to Africa has been sustained, though out of the 87 missionaries sent, all but 3 have died or have returned on account of ill health, and though all the Southern bishops are more or less African missionaries in their charge over the colored race. It has met with a series of misfortunes either in the death or the resignations, made necessary by the fatal climate, of those appointed to its episcopal supervision. Bishop Payne, appointed in 1851, resigned after twenty years of faithful labor, in 1871; and his successor, Bishop Auer, appointed in 1873, soon after died. Bishop Penick, consecrated in 1877, had to resign in 1883, but still continues earnestly laboring for the race in America, as the energetic agent of the church's Commission for Work among the Colored People. His place in Africa has been taken by the colored Bishop Ferguson, as bishop of the missionary jurisdiction of Cape Palmas and parts adjacent. He was appointed in 1885, and by reason of his race, it is

hoped, will be capable of withstanding the ravages of the malarious climate. The condition of the mission is shown in the following statistics for the year ending June 30, 1894: clergy, 16; mission stations, 53; candidates for orders (Liberian 6, native 3), 9; postulants (Liberian 6, native 1), 7; lay readers, 18; catechists and teachers, 30; female teachers, 13; baptisms, 250; confirmations, 118; communicants, 1185; Sunday-school scholars, 1552; boarding and day scholars, 1293. There are 23 day-schools, 12 boarding-schools, and 31 Sunday-schools in all connected with the mission.

The Commission for Work among the Colored People may be fittingly mentioned here, though its place is in the department of domestic missions. It was in 1886 that the General Convention formally recognized this special form of missionary labor, which had been informally carried on since 1865, by the churches in various dioceses; and which was a product of the war in its enfranchisement of the negro slaves. A commission was appointed for this special work under the Board of Missions, and in various forms of organization has continued its labors ever since.

The total number of colored clergy now at work is 68; of these 41 are in priests' orders and 13 are employed in Northern cities. In addition, 52 white clergy are wholly or in part engaged in the same department in the South. Of the 5 archdeacons devoted exclusively to the work of extending the influence of the church among the colored people in the several dioceses under the bishops' direction, 2 are colored.

In the sixteen Southern States aided by the Commission, representing nineteen dioceses, with a population of about 7,500,000, there cannot be fewer than 6000 communicants at the present time. The Bishop of Southern Florida reports one seventh of the whole number of communicants

as black, and the Bishop of Georgia reports one tenth of

Littlejohn, Lee, Coxe, Bedell, and Kerfoot, was appointed to consider their petition "to take such measures as may lead to the granting of the episcopate" to the new Mexican church organization. At the instance of this committee Bishop Lee made a visitation to Mexico, confirming over a hundred persons and ordaining seven men as deacons and then as priests. As a result of this visitation the Church of Jesus was recognized as a foreign church under the care of the Protestant Episcopal Church until it should have a sufficient number of bishops; assent having been given to its doctrine, discipline, and worship. Dr. Riley was consecrated Bishop of the Valley of Mexico in 1879, in Pittsburg, Pa. The appointment proved unsatisfactory, and after five years, in April, 1884, Bishop Riley resigned his jurisdiction, promising to forego all exercise of his episcopal office in Mexico or elsewhere without the consent of the Mexican Commission, or other lawful authority of the church from which he received his orders. In the meantime, in 1883, the *Cuerpo Eclesiastico* had been recognized by the Mexican Commission as the representative body of the new church organization, which was, as a mission, taken under the care of the church in the United States. The bishops approved this action, and the Commission was discharged with thanks. The Rev. William B. Gordon was nominated by the presiding bishop, and appointed as counsel and guide of the ecclesiastical body in Mexico; and on his resignation, in 1893, the Rev. Henry Forrester became his successor, and has efficiently carried on the work.[1]

The perplexities of the whole affair to those within the Commission were increased by the criticism of those without who considered the movement an unlawful intrusion

[1] For a fuller account of the difficulties of the Mexican movement see "The Church in America," by Leighton Coleman, Bishop of Delaware, pp. 286–295, to which the above account is greatly indebted.

into the province of the Church of Rome. The House of Bishops, however, simply acted on the principle, without explicitly defining it, that when the sacraments are denied and excommunication is threatened to those who do not accept the errors which the English Church rejected at the Reformation, then a purer form of the church may be lawfully introduced. They saw that to refuse compliance with a request like that of the Church of Jesus in Mexico would be to reflect on the validity of their own principles and position, as well as to deprive of the benefits of the church those who were excommunicate because they were in essential agreement with themselves. The law of

tions were simply local and isolated parochial organizations. The Woman's Auxiliary, as a general church organization, was authorized by the Board of Missions in October, 1871. It owes its great measure of success largely to the wise plans and indefatigable labors of its secretaries, the first of whom, Miss Mary A. Emery (who now, as Mrs. A. T. Twing, is honorary secretary), for four years worked assiduously to fix and extend its organization, and who was succeeded by her sister, Miss Julia C. Emery, its present secretary, who has shown equal capacity in the management and extension of what is now a great organization. It is not a self-constituted and independent society, but is a department of the Board of Missions which seeks to glean the fields already harvested. It, together with the Junior Auxiliary, which enlists the interest of the children and young people of the church, adds over $350,000 annually (in money and the value of boxes of clothing and books) to the general missionary treasury, and in the twenty-three years of its existence has gathered over $4,000,000 for missionary work. Besides its general officers, the auxiliary has over five hundred diocesan officers in sixty-five dioceses and missionary jurisdictions, including the officers of the Junior Auxiliary. It has aided materially in a few instances in the education of the children of missionaries. The auxiliary meets once in three years, at the time and place of meeting of the General Convention. Its diocesan branches meet annually, semi-annually, quarterly, monthly, or otherwise, as determined in the respective dioceses. Apart from the work it has done, the missionary spirit and interest it has aroused have been of incalculable service to the church.

In regard to sisterhoods, the General Convention has thought best to leave their regulations untrammeled by

canonical provisions. The first sisterhood arose, as we have seen, in the parish of the Holy Communion, New York, under the auspices of Dr. Muhlenberg, in 1843. It was not formally constituted until 1852, nor was the first sister formally admitted by special service until 1857. It has proved the germ of many others more or less like it. The Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, in Baltimore, Md., became a community in 1863, though it was inaugurated earlier by Dr. Rankin; and in New York the Sisterhood of St. Mary came into being in 1865, and that of the Good Shepherd in 1869. The English Sisterhoods of St. Margaret and St. John the Baptist have branches respectively in Boston and New York. Being unreported to any ecclesiastical body, the record both of their number and their work is necessarily incomplete.

In regard to deaconesses, we may trace their origin to Dr. Muhlenberg and Bishop Alonzo Potter, in connection with St. Luke's Hospital, New York, and the Episcopal Hospital of Philadelphia, before this period of church life begins; and in Mobile, Ala., a diocesan order of deaconesses was instituted in 1864. The effort to revive the order of deaconesses through church legislation dates from the General Convention of 1871, when, on motion of the Rev. W. R. Huntington, D.D., a joint committee was appointed to investigate and report upon the expediency of reviving the primitive order of deaconesses. The canon it recommended was not accepted. The subject was renewed in the General Conventions at Boston in 1874 and at New York in 1880; but not until 1889, just eighteen years after the words "order of deaconesses" had been first uttered in the House of Deputies, was the present canon reported and adopted. Under this canon of 1889 two training-schools have been established: one in New York, begun October, 1890; and the other in Philadelphia, started a little later.

The New York school has already graduated fourteen pupils, nine of whom are actively engaged in their calling. There is a deaconess house, called St. Faith's, given by Grace Church, which gathered the means for it; and a regular course of instruction, covering two years, is conducted by a faculty consisting of a dean and ten assisting instructors. This is in fulfillment of the canon which requires that every deaconess, before she is set apart for that office, shall have had "an adequate preparation for her work, both technical and religious, which preparation shall have covered the period of two years." The Philadelphia school is also admirably conducted, making, perhaps, practical participation in church work a more prominent feature in its course than the New York school. The demand for deaconesses for parish and mission work is far greater than the supply, and there is every prospect that this channel for the labors of devout women will extend with rapidity, to the great advantage of the church's work and the quickening of its life.

The latest phase of organization for the more efficient conduct of church administration is the archdeaconry system, which has only within the last decade been introduced into some dioceses. It is a modification of the English system, the archdeacon being simply the representative agent of the bishop in the management of the missionary interests of his district. Local missions being an essential part of the work of every diocese in a country which is nowhere, save in cities, densely settled, the chief aid which a bishop requires is in this direction. The importance of planting and cherishing new centers of church life in a growing community is so apparent, and the oversight and regulation of such enterprises require so much attention, that the archdeaconry system has arisen, not to copy a foreign fashion, but to meet a real emergency. The success

which has attended its working where it has been introduced is prophetic of its universal adoption.

As a contribution toward the more efficient working of the church system, the cathedral holds a tentative position among the forces recently evoked. It was about the beginning of the period of which we are now treating that a cathedral organization was effected in Chicago by the Bishop of Illinois, the Rt. Rev. H. J. Whitehouse, D.D., and an edifice of moderate size erected. This was the first embodiment of the cathedral idea in the country. It was later followed by like attempts in Milwaukee, Faribault, Omaha, Topeka, Denver, Davenport, and other places in the West, and in Portland, Me., in the East. These cathedral establishments are rather the germs for a future development than a full realization of the cathedral system. Neither in the size and dignity of the churches and their endowments, nor in the constitution of their chapters, are they more than prophecies of a completed cathedral organization. But quite recently at the East the system has received an impetus and a reinforcement in the gift to the diocese of Long Island, of the handsome and costly structure of the Church of the Incarnation at Garden City for a cathedral church. The gift of the edifice has, since the death of the donors, Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Stewart, of New York City, been supplemented, by their legacies, with a handsome endowment. Here the full service of a cathedral is impressively performed, and a regular cathedral organization established and carried on. It is made the center of the missionary work of the diocese. At Albany, N. Y., Bishop Doane by ceaseless diligence has established the organization of the Cathedral of All Saints, and reared for it a fitting habitation in a noble structure which, though incomplete, is of adequate proportions and sufficient dignity to illustrate the cathedral idea and symbolize the strength

of the diocese. In New York City the project of a cathedral was started during the episcopate of Bishop Horatio Potter, and an act of incorporation was secured for it. Nothing was done for its realization until the present bishop, the Rev. Henry C. Potter, D.D., came into office. Under his auspices the work has been vigorously undertaken. Sufficient funds have been gathered by a few munificent donations and legacies to purchase a commanding site, to secure noble architectural plans, and to begin the erection of the choir of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. The corner-stone was laid with impressive ceremonies on St. John's day, 1892. The constitution of the cathedral corporation makes this in reality the bishop's seat and church. In constituting the archdeacons of the diocese, who are the chief supervisors of diocesan missionary work, members of the chapter, and by other features, the cathedral constitution aims at creating, not a medieval anachronism, but an efficient engine and organ for modern diocesan activities.

This new method for effective administration of the dioceses indicates the growth and strength of the church, in that it has become necessary notwithstanding the multiplication of new dioceses by the division of the older ones. This division, or the formation of smaller dioceses within the boundaries of the States, with which the dioceses were originally coterminous, is a marked feature of the church of this period. What had required the most cogent arguments and the most unceasing effort of Bishop Whittingham and others to effect in 1837, in regard to the division of the diocese of New York, has gone on with vigor ever since. In 1868 the diocese of New York was divided into three: New York, Albany, and Long Island. In the same year Western New York was divided by the setting off of Central New York. Maryland in the same year consti-

tuted the Eastern Shore of the State the diocese of Easton. Still earlier, in 1865, Pennsylvania had set off the diocese of Pittsburg, and later, in 1871, the diocese of Central Pennsylvania. The movement toward smaller dioceses has since then continuously gone on, until most of the older dioceses outside New England have now been divided. In what constituted old Virginia there are now the dioceses of Virginia, West Virginia, and Southern Virginia; in Ohio the dioceses of Ohio and Southern Ohio; in Illinois the three dioceses of Chicago, Quincy, and Springfield. Michigan has set off Western Michigan as a diocese, and Northern Michigan as a missionary jurisdiction. Missouri has been divided into Missouri and West Missouri. Texas has set off the missionary jurisdictions of Northern and Western Texas. North Carolina has set off the diocese of East Carolina. California has constituted Northern California a missionary jurisdiction, and Colorado, Western Colorado. Dakota has separated into North and South Dakota, and Nebraska has set off the Platte as a missionary jurisdiction. Washington is now divided into the missionary jurisdictions of Spokane and Olympia, as earlier it was itself an offshoot from the diocese of Oregon. Wisconsin is divided into the dioceses of Milwaukee and Fond du Lac, New Jersey into New Jersey and Newark, and Florida has set off Southern Florida as a missionary jurisdiction. Maryland also has just resolved to ask the General Convention to set off the District of Columbia and four contiguous counties as the diocese of Washington.

Thus the thirty-three dioceses of 1865 have expanded into fifty-three dioceses and seventeen missionary jurisdictions in 1895.

This subdivision of States into a number of smaller dioceses has suggested the necessity of the provincial system. In Illinois there exists a Provincial Council of the three dioceses within the State, and in New York there is

a Federate Council of the five dioceses within the State. As yet throughout the church there has been no general movement in the matter, and it waits for its development the coming of future necessity.[1]

Some general features of the latest development of church life having now been traced, we turn our attention to some special facts which give character and meaning to this period of the church's history.

One of the inevitable struggles of the church was to adjust itself to the new development of ritualism, which may perhaps be defined as the effort to symbolize in worship, by a return to pre-Reformation usages, the doctrinal system of the extreme Anglo-Catholic school. The whole legislative action in this respect has been derided as an undignified wrangle over church millinery. That is a very inadequate conception of the controversy. Neither side looked upon it from so frivolous a point of view. Those who claimed the right to hold the doctrinal opinions of this school claimed the right to express and teach them by ritual action. They justified their vestments and ceremonies, hitherto unknown in the church in America, either by the usage arising in the English Church from the construction there of the Ornaments Rubric (though its force and obligation were then the subject of controversy and litigation), or by the lack of legislation in the canons and rubrics of the church in the United States, which had never sanctioned the Ornaments Rubric.

On the other hand, those who were opposed to this in-

[1] Perhaps the most prominent and persistent advocate of the division of dioceses and of the provincial system was the Rev. Dr. John Henry Hopkins, Jr., son of Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont. He was the wittiest and most pungent controversial writer the church has produced. His literary talents were more brilliant than his father's. His chief literary work, his father's "Life," would be simply beautiful as an instance of filial devotion if it were not so jubilantly

divination action of members of a separate school urged
an opinion permitted to be held *in* the church was n
be construed as the doctrine *of* the church, and that the
ceremonies, meant to teach it, were so indistinguisl
from the ceremonial which expressed the tenets of
Church of Rome (which this church had, in common
its English mother, rejected as errors), that to permit t
was dangerous. They urged, moreover, that it was l
to hopelessly destroy both the moderation and the
formity in worship which had been so characteristic o
communion.

The ritualistic controversy is therefore not to
described as a childish contention on either hand a
matters in themselves insignificant; nor is the move
to be confounded with that growth in esthetic cultu
characteristic of this time in all departments of life, an
which both the structures and the services of the ch
have so greatly benefited. Every school of thought w
the church, as well as all sorts and conditions of men
out, have felt that influence. High-churchmen led
way, but Low-churchmen followed quickly after, unt
the features of English cathedral worship, of choral se
and vested choristers, as well as of pictures upon the
and stalls and lecterns in the chancel and crosses o
spire or over the holy table, have ceased to be indicati
party position. The ceremonial brought in questio

by the ceremonial which expressed them, and even appeared as its advocate and defender. Early in 1867 twenty-four bishops issued a declaration condemnatory of ritualism, in which they declared that "no Prayer-book of the Church of England in the reign of whatever sovereign set forth, and no law of the Church of England, have any force of law in this church such as can be justly cited in defense of any departure from the express law of this church." In fine, this declaration claimed the right of "this national church" to prescribe its own ritual, and condemned such usages as were especially attributed to the ritualistic party. This started the controversy. It is too recent, and the records of it are too accessible, to render a complete account of it advisable. The flood of debate, moreover, renders such an account impossible. In the General Convention of 1868 the subject was earnestly considered, but after many resolutions and counter-resolutions the only result was the consent of the House of Bishops, in response to a request of the House of Deputies, to "appoint a committee to consider whether any additional provision for uniformity, by canon or otherwise, is practicable and expedient, and to report to the next General Convention."

Bishop Hopkins had died in January before this Convention assembled, and Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, was now presiding bishop. He appointed on this committee Bishops Lee of Delaware, Williams of Connecticut, Odenheimer of New Jersey, Clark of Rhode Island, and Kerfoot of Pittsburg. This committee reported to the next General Convention, held in Baltimore, 1871. In this report they declared their conviction that some action of the General Convention on the subject was desirable, if not absolutely demanded. They asked that such action should be in the

form of a canon, and recommended that it should prohibit eleven specified things, among which were the use of incense and of the crucifix, lights on or about the holy table, and certain actions of the officiating minister, such as the elevation of the consecrated elements, prostrations, crossings, solitary communion of the priest, etc. They recommended another canon on Vestments, restricting the bishops to the episcopal habit heretofore in use, and the clergy to a white surplice and black gown, a white or black stole, white bands, and a black cassock. They also reported a resolution that," the House of Deputies concurring, a joint committee be appointed, to consist of three bishops, three presbyters, and three laymen, with directions to report such canons as might be thought desirable to this Convention as early as possible." The joint committee was granted and appointed, and reported a canon on Ritual, in which it was declared, first, that "this church recognizes no other law of ritual than such as it shall have itself accepted or provided"; and second, that "the provisions for ritual in this church are the Book of Common Prayer, with the offices and ordinal; the canons of the Church of England in use in the American provinces before the year 1789, not subsequently superseded; and the canonical or other decisions of this church in its Conventions"; and "referring to the ordinary all questions arising concerning ritual observance." A resolution was appended asking for a joint committee to report to the next General Convention on "what portions of the English canons of 1603 were in use in America in 1789, and how far they may have been modified."

Innumerable amendments were offered to this canon, and on the closing day of the session, before any definite action was taken by the Lower House, the bishops sent in a canon concerning the administration of the holy com-

munion, forbidding elevation of the elements and any ceremony not prescribed in the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper in the Book of Common Prayer. The canon was lost by non-concurrence of the house. Two resolutions were, however, passed; the first condemning all ceremonies fitted to express a doctrine foreign to that set forth in the authorized standards of the church, and the second, declaring the counsel of the bishops as sufficient to suppress all irregularities.

It was not until the Convention of 1874 that a canon on Ritual was passed. Then by an overwhelming majority the present Section 11 of Canon 22 of Title 1 was adopted. This canon forbids the elevation of the elements in the celebration of the holy communion; any acts of adoration toward the elements; and all other like acts not authorized by the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer.

The whole action, protracted as it was, was more influential through the expression of opinion elicited than from the legislation enacted. The constitutionality of the canon has been disputed and practically disallowed by those whose practices it forbids, and those who desired legislation at all desired more than they got. By their messages and proposed measures the House of Bishops showed their general disapproval of the movement, and the House of Deputies their disinclination to minute legislation concerning it. Its clerical and lay advocates were backed by many who disapproved it, but who wished to make the church comprehensive of all types of churchmanship. The canon so fully approved has stood chiefly as a formal protest against the central error alleged to be involved in the ritualistic development.

Whether it was owing to the very full opportunity for the church to give its utterance on the subject in these General Conventions, or to other causes, the excitement

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in December, 1873, Bishop Cummins had met with seven clergymen and twenty laymen in the city of New York, and inaugurated a separate ecclesiastical organization. Bishop Cummins was chosen presiding officer of the new body, and he proceeded to consecrate the deposed presbyter of Chicago, the Rev. C. E. Cheney, D.D., who was by the new body elected bishop. He was a notable accession by reason of his gifts and character and the conspicuous position he had obtained. Could the strictness of the letter have been less rigidly enforced against him he might have been spared to the church, and the Reformed Episcopal Church to America, for he was the most influential man who joined it. A few earnest souls followed him, of the type which is intense within a limited horizon; whose conception of the church is too circumscribed to admit of varied apprehensions of doctrine, and who fear if tares and wheat grow together, the tares will assuredly root out the wheat. This movement drew to itself but few of the prominent men of Evangelical antecedents, and has not established itself as either a numerous or an influential ecclesiastical body. All the views for which its protest is made have been and may be held within the communion from which it parted.[1] This departure may have awakened in the old home a spirit of comprehension too slumberous before; a return would keep it yet more wide awake.

When the controversy over ritualism was renewed at the General Convention of 1874 it was carried on with less virulence. Dr. De Koven pleaded against repressive legislation because of its narrowing effect upon the communion, and it was in this spirit that the Convention contented itself with the general statements of its canon. The temper of

[1] H. K. Carroll, LL.D., "The Religious Forces of the United States," in "American Church History Series," vol. I., p. 325, "Reformed Episcopal Church."

the body was shown, however, in its refusal to confirm the election of Dr. G. F. Seymour to the bishopric of Illinois, on the ground that he was an active member of the advanced ritualistic party. This charge he denied, but the Convention declined to assent to his consecration. In the calmer times which have since ensued he has been made bishop of the diocese of Springfield.

Just before the General Convention met in New York in 1874 the first meeting of the American Church Congress was held in the same city. It had, of course, been suggested by the English Church Congress, and the plan originated among a number of clergymen, usually styled Broad-churchmen, who were advocates of the comprehensiveness of the church and of intellectual freedom within it. They felt that the time had come for a free expression of opinion by all classes of churchmen, clerical and lay, on topics of common Christian and church interest, unhampered by prospective legislation or representative responsibility. They believed that if honest men of differing convictions could thus meet on a common platform, state and advocate their convictions, and learn the *rationale* of their differences, the result would be a decline of party spirit, an increase of ecclesiastical comity, and an awakening of intellectual and spiritual life. At a meeting of a number of clergymen of Boston and New York at New Haven in the spring of 1874, the subject was broached. The Rev. Dr. Edwin Harwood, the scholarly rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, who had recently attended a meeting of the English Church Congress, suggested the introduction of the same thing in America. The subject was duly discussed, and finally formulated by such men as Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, Drs. E. A. Washburn and John Cotton Smith of New York, and Phillips Brooks of Boston. Rev. Dr. George D. Wildes was appointed general secretary. Prepa-

rations were made to hold the first session of the Congress in New York, just previous to the assembling of the General Convention, in order to secure a full and representative audience for the inauguration of the movement. The appointment of this time caused the project to be misunderstood by the Bishop of New York, who had been asked to preside, and he opposed the holding of the Congress, fearing it might be meant to influence the legislation of the coming General Convention. Nothing was further from the purpose of the originators of the Congress, and the best way to answer such suspicions was to hold the Congress and let it speak for itself. It was accordingly held with great success in Association Hall, and largely attended, though many bishops and delegates withheld their presence out of deference to the scruples of the bishop of the diocese. Bishop Whipple made the opening address at the celebration of the holy communion at Calvary Church, which preceded the first session, and Dr. Alexander H. Vinton, of Boston, acted as president of the Congress. Speakers of all ecclesiastical schools took part. The boldness of utterance, the ability of the discussions, the courtesy of the writers and speakers, created a profound impression, and awakened the admiration as well as satisfied the curiosity of the audiences. The non-partisan nature of the organization was conspicuously evident from the topics discussed, the speakers who took part, and the tone of the debates. It was the successful inauguration of an institution which has since done more to mitigate the bitterness of party spirit than any series of publications or resolutions of ecclesiastical bodies could possibly have accomplished. It has made men and parties understand one another, by bringing them face to face in absolute freedom of discussion. Its direction has been eminently fair; no school or extremest section of a school has been overlooked in the

selection of its writers and speakers. If some have kept aloof from it, it has not been for lack of invitation to attend. The late Bishop of New York, notwithstanding his first opposition, at a later period welcomed it to his diocese and presided at its meetings. Those only dislike it who distrust the effects of free discussion. They do not constitute a majority of any party in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The class of churchmen among whom the Congress took its rise came into notice gradually and as individuals rather than as a school. Though styled the Broad-church party, from the nature of their position there can be no binding party organization among them, for they emphasize individual freedom of both thought and action, and stand for the constitutional rights of loyal churchmen of every school. Their symbol is rather the leaven which influences and raises the mass wherein it is set, without taking evident form for itself, than the seed which is reproduced and multiplied in definite and enlarged organizations. They are the representatives on this side of the Atlantic of the school in England identified with the names of Arnold of Rugby and Robertson of Brighton, with the brothers Hare, and with Maurice and Stanley and Temple. They vary in churchmanship, in theological opinions, in ritual manners. Their bond of union lies rather in their method of approaching questions than in definite conclusions concerning them. They are the apostles of the Spirit. In answer to charges of vagueness and indifference to positive results which have been brought against them, they claim that their breadth is not that of the aeronaut who, drifting among the clouds, sees everything and distinguishes nothing, but is that of the astronomer who from a firm position broadly scans the heavens, and learns of a greatness which, if it dwarf the planet whereon he stands, yet glorifies it by making it part of a universe. Many of this school are strong churchmen,

The authority of the church lies to them chiefly in the reasonableness of its decrees, and the authority of the Bible in its divine and spiritual message to the soul and the conscience, wholly unimpaired by any crudity of style or inexactness of popular scientific illustration it may exhibit. They regard inspiration as of the spirit, not of the letter, and hold that the supernatural is not to be construed as the unnatural.

This school, therefore, concerns itself much with the kingdom of righteousness on earth, and is less dogmatic concerning the features of the spiritual world beyond. It is interested in applying the principles of Christ's teaching, and the truth of God, revealed in his incarnation and passion and resurrection, to the present actual needs of men and society, and is largely humanitarian in its conception of applied Christianity.

This brief sketch of the Broad-church school may serve to show its trend. It is not eminently dogmatic, but tends to discriminate essential Christianity from theological speculation, and to identify its essence with a living relation of the soul and of society to Christ. It has had wide influence over both thinking and practical men. It has drawn into the church many whom ecclesiasticism repels, and whom the subjective individualism of the Evangelical system does not satisfy. It, of course, embraces men very wide asunder in their conclusions, and its coherence lies solely in its spirit. To exist as an influence is its end and aim. That end is to "live in the Spirit"; that aim is to "walk before God in the land of the living." Of the exponents of this school, the most eminent have been Dr. Washburn, of New York, and Phillips Brooks, Bishop of Massachusetts. The lives of both were too influential to be indicated in a brief sketch, yet too significant to be

Edward Abiel Washburn was drawn out of the Congregationalism in which he was reared into the Episcopal Church through the attraction of its historic and institutional character. He used to speak of himself as a philosophical High-churchman, because he held to the value of the historic continuity and organic structure of the church on philosophical rather than on dogmatic grounds; for the sake of their reasonableness rather than because of conciliar or traditional authority. According to his conception the church could not rightly exist as a congeries of atomic congregations, nor even as a rivalry of mutually exclusive parties striving for predominance within the selfsame household. It must stand as an organism coextensive with the boundaries of the faith, with equal constitutional rights guaranteed to all loyal souls therein. The idea of comprehensiveness thus detached him from denominationalism and attracted him to the church, which he regarded as a realm of law insuring a reign of liberty. Its historic character, its ancient landmarks, its rich heritage of liturgical treasures, were especially dear to him; for he was an accurate scholar, profoundly versed in history and philosophy and the literature of many lands. He was a keen critic, and possessed an epigrammatic style which expressed his convictions with crystal clearness. He was by nature a chivalrous soul, whose presence always suggested knightly prowess and the distinction of a high-bred nature, to which what was mean, false, or pretentious was disdainfully repugnant. He was, as Dean Stanley wrote of him, of "that small transfigured band whom the world cannot tame: the band of Falkland, Leighton, Whichcote, Arnold, Maurice." He stood in fullest sympathy with the catholic aims of his friend, Dr. Muhlenberg, in all matters of practical benevolence and Christian fellowship, and the two found an intellectual point of union in their poetic nature, which

was marked in each. But Dr. Washburn's chief interest lay in departments unfamiliar to his gifted friend; in those deeper problems of philosophical speculation and historical investigation which furnished the roots of his theological method. He was intent on the discovery of the *rationale* of all doctrines and institutions, and his chief mental power lay in the possession of a keen analysis which suffered no subterfuge to escape him, and which brought out the lurking error or the hidden truth so that it was impossible to mistake its identity. Though possessed as a preacher of a rare eloquence of both style and expression, his appeal in the pulpit, as in his writings, was to the thoughtful and studious classes rather than to the mass of men. He approached men through their intellect too predominantly to greatly attract or influence the general crowd, but within the sphere he had deliberately chosen he stood supreme. Upon vague sentiment or misty doubt his clear intelligence shone like the sun, dispersing the vapors and revealing the source of their origin. He recognized and welcomed the new problems in thought and action of his time, and rejoiced to go forth to meet them in the friendly spirit which greeted them as signs of life, better far than any sultry calm. As their solvent he brought forth out of his treasury things new and old, holding, with his friend Stanley, that "the transitory stands still, fades, and falls to pieces; the eternal continues by changing its form in accordance with the movement of advancing ages."

As a philosophical Christian divine and as a liberal churchman, not less but more devoted by reason of his liberality, his influence on his fellow-clergy and the thoughtful minds of the community was marked and deep. And all that influence went for manliness and sincerity, for generous sympathy, for high scholarship, for fearless investigation. His courage was boundless because of his

confidence that truth, not error, is the strongest thing in the church as in the world. His salutary influence on multitudes of the younger clergy can hardly be computed.

As we turn to speak of Phillips Brooks we meet a nature in full accord with Dr. Washburn's aim and tone, but with characteristics widely different. He grew up in Boston, under the influence of his rector, Dr. Alexander H. Vinton, "whose vigorous mind and great acquirements and commanding character and earnest eloquence," to quote Bishop Brooks's own estimate of him, "made him a most influential power, and gave a noble dignity to the life of the church in Boston." A graduate of Harvard and a student under Dr. Sparrow at Alexandria, his mind never in earlier or later days turned fondly toward institutions, but centered itself on the spiritual and moral and intellectual aspects of the truth itself. High as was his intelligence and wide as was his culture, his appeal to his hearers was not chiefly through the intellectual gifts which separated them, but through the moral and spiritual elements they shared in common and which made them all akin. At once on emerging from the seminary he became preëminent in the pulpit, and from the very beginning continued till his death the most powerful and fascinating and uplifting preacher the Protestant Episcopal Church has ever known. He drew all sorts and conditions of men and women in vast assemblies about him, and they hung breathless on his lips, and went home from his sermons feeling that a strong wind of God had blown freshness and courage and hope and aspiration into their souls. It is impossible to say whose lives he touched most potently, whether the students of Harvard, or the merchants and physicians of Philadelphia, or the judges, statesmen, and scholars of Boston, or the clerks and seamstresses and artisans everywhere. No one but felt and responded to the nobleness of his nature and

the majesty of his spirit as he stood before them to plead with them, as the children of God, to rise to the height of the divine possibilities within them, and walk as children of the light and of the day. It is difficult, if not impossible, to analyze his power. He had affluent gifts, but it did not lie in them. He had an exquisite diction which sang its sentiment into the soul, and a wealth of illustration which constituted him a veritable seer to whom nature laid bare the secrets of her spiritual suggestion, together with a beautiful simplicity of style which transforms his writings into literature. Mentally he had a clear perception of the fundamental truths of God and man, a noble philosophy of life, a keen appreciation of the forces moving in society, an intense appreciation of all genuine forms of life. But it was the mystic touch of genius which took all the rich endowments of his nature, and all the acquirements of his scholarship, and all his varied culture and experience of men, and from out them evoked a power of spiritual sympathy which made him supreme as an inspiration and a guide. His theology was Christology, and his religion was a transcript of Dr. Arnold's expressive phrase: "There is one name, and one alone, in heaven and earth to whom we can surrender our whole soul and be satisfied. And that name is not truth, not justice, not benevolence; not Christ's mother, nor his holiest servants, nor his blessed sacraments, nor his very mystical body, the church; but himself only, who died for us and rose again, Jesus Christ, both God and man." The divinity and humanity of Christ were a blended light which enabled him to apprehend the significance of each, and to comprehend their unity in him. The realization of that unity in man was to his thought the end and aim of creation and redemption, and to it he summoned all who heard him by earnestly eloquent appeals to the noblest elements within

them. He depicted Christian character in the greatness of its manliness, and in contrast showed the turpitude of evil in its littleness as well as in its guilt. His teaching was thus characterized by a lofty belief in man's spiritual possibilities, and a large hope for man's eternal destinies. The progressive revelation of truth and morality in the Bible, crowned by the incarnation, assured him of its divine spirit and origin, which no criticism of the letter could affect. And the church of Christ was to him the brotherhood of all who were baptized with Christ's spiritual power, and followed him as Master. Neither his theological nor his ecclesiastical views were conventional, and this gave rise to misconception and misunderstanding of him. His method was synthetic, not analytic, and this, too, bewildered the conventional mind, which could not believe that the skeleton was sound or entire unless it protruded itself through the tissues of the ampler life with which he clothed it. Those who would subject a poem to the tests of a mathematical problem might remain doubtful of his essential orthodoxy, but not those who caught the real meaning of his thought and were responsive to the passionate yearning of his soul to make God and Christ and all Christian truth a reality in the life of to-day, and not leave it chiefly the tradition of a past age of faith. He never uttered a sensational sentence, nor one that had not a sensation for earnest souls. In the chiefest English cathedrals, as in the least parish churches of his diocese, he was a living oracle. And in his influence on his own communion and community he stood foremost as an inspiring presence, who made life nobler, and thought and speech worthier, by the spirit of manliness and godliness with which he suffused them.

Of other men of influence of this school there is no space to speak; but brief mention must be made of

John Cotton Smith, rector of Ascension Church, New York, who, beginning as a narrow Evangelical, expanded into a broad Evangelical; always holding to the subjective theology he loved, yet coming to comprehend the equal force and claim of other schools of thought. His strong native powers were enforced by learning, and his philosophic cast of mind lent depth to his conclusions. His pamphlet, "The Church's Mission of Reconciliation," had a very wide effect in calming party passion and making his powers known and his influence felt generally throughout the church. It was a plea for unity amid diversity, justified by an exposition of the peculiar task and value of each school in its testimony to some special element of the faith, and urged in the interests of that "special agency in building up the future church of the nation" which he believed Providence laid upon his own communion.

In fine, the aim of this school has lain in an endeavor to make the church comprehensive, and in claiming free scope for the development of its power.

Another new organization of this period has likewise been influential in the cause of unity within the church on its spiritual side, as the Church Congress has been on its intellectual side. It is the Parochial Mission Society, which by freer methods and a continuous series of services strives to do in a more churchly fashion what the prayer-meeting and religious conference aimed to do of old. It combines in its committees and its workers churchmen of every school or party, who are earnestly set to dissipate the apathy which settles on the routine life of parishes, and to call in from without to the influences of the gospel those who either neglect the church or are utterly indifferent or hostile to it. To gather in the wayfarer and stimulate the sluggish Christian is the work of the Parochial

types of men; but the unity of aim begets unity of spirit, and the outcome has been an enlarged charity and a better mutual appreciation among the varied schools of churchmen.

The St. Andrew's Brotherhood is another such unifying organization, which touches church life on its practical side. This society, which, with simplest rules and methods, exists to enlist the coöperation of young men in church work, such as bringing men to church and welcoming them there, teaching in Sunday-schools and night-schools, and other like avocations, has become widespread and influential throughout the land. The Church Congress and the Parochial Mission Society both had their prototypes in England. The St. Andrew's Brotherhood is purely American. It began as a parochial society in St. James's Church, Chicago, to meet a local need, under the inspiration and suggestion of Mr. James Houghteling, a layman of the parish. Originating in 1886, it has now a thousand chapters and a membership of eleven thousand widely scattered through the dioceses. It holds its conventions, where the members gather in vast numbers, and is a distinct power in consolidating the practical forces of the church, and divesting them of a partisan character. The Daughters of the King is a society for girls, of the same essential aim and spirit, though it is by no means so large an organization. Church clubs, too, have numerously sprung into being, which have the opportunity at least to foster unity on its social side. The laymen in the cities are enlisted in them, and they manifest and deepen a vigorous Christian vitality among churchmen.

Of the various attempts at social reform which have combined churchmen of all schools in equal enthusiasm, one of the chief is the Church Temperance Society, which seeks to diminish and destroy drunkenness by the combined efforts of

all sober people. It admits, therefore, to its fellowship both those who moderately use and those who totally abstain from using spirituous drinks. It was established in 1881, and under its able president, Mr. Robert Graham, has done much to oppose the vice so fatal to domestic peace and personal respectability by affecting legislation and calling attention to the problem of drinking-saloons and their distribution, by the establishment of coffee-houses and lunch-wagons where the temptation to dram-drinking is absent, by lectures and mass-meetings, and especially by the establishment in churches of corps of Knights of Temperance, with drill and uniform, among the young, pledged to sobriety and purity and reverent speech. The reasonableness of its basis, whereon all the friends of sobriety may stand, frees it from the taint of an uncharitable fanaticism, and promises for it a sphere of usefulness akin to that of the English Church Temperance Society, whose success suggested the adoption of its methods in America.

The American Church Building Fund Commission is another practical combination of all sorts of churchmen in needed work. Founded in 1880 by the General Convention, it aims to raise a large fund by annual offerings from congregations and by individual gifts; portions of the principal to be loaned, and of the interest to be given, for church building wherever needed.

Amid all these manifestations of a broader and nobler conception of the church's task, the individual churches themselves, whether the seats are rented and appropriated or whether they are indiscriminately free, have in large measure ceased to be mere places of worship for the little groups who have combined to build them, preserving carefully the chartered privileges of their parishioners, and have aspired to become religious homes for the community and centers of religious work for the help of all kinds of

suffering and need. In the larger cities the mission chapels and parish houses of the self-supporting churches offer the opportunity for worship and helpful sympathy in the very midst of the poorer population; and the general City Mission, in the city of New York, carries the ministrations of the gospel, through its chaplains, to all the city institutions, to every prison and hospital and almshouse supported by the municipality.[1]

A larger conception of church catholicity has at times seemed to some to demand a change of name for the ecclesiastical organization which has so developed itself. In the General Convention of 1877, held in Boston, the subject was broached by the presentation of some resolutions of the diocese of Wisconsin, asking among other things for a change in the legal title of the church. The deputy from Wisconsin who introduced the resolution, the Rev. Dr. De Koven, was its chief clerical advocate, and the Hon. S. Corning Judd, of Illinois, its chief lay supporter. The older and larger dioceses did not favor it. The Hon. Hamilton Fish, of New York, vigorously opposed and denounced it. The final vote on the change of name was on the resolution reported by the committee to whom the Wisconsin resolution had been referred, viz., "*Resolved*, That no change be made in the name of this church, as used in the constitution." An overwhelming majority of dioceses sustained the resolution, only one lay delegate from Alabama and two clerical delegates from Wisconsin voting in the negative. In connection with this subject an occurrence in the General Convention of 1886 has been cited as indicating a change of sentiment[2] in regard to it.

[1] The beautiful Chapel of the Good Shepherd, built by Mr. George Bliss, of New York City, at a cost of seventy thousand dollars, on Blackwell's Island, for the use of the inmates of the city almshouse, is a striking illustration of the awakened spirit of philanthropy in the church to-day.

[2] See Morehouse, "Some American Churchmen," p. 217.

Such was not its significance. It was proposed, in connection with the enrichment of the Prayer-book then under consideration, that the name of the church should be, not changed, but omitted from the title of the Prayer-book. Many of the strongest opponents of the change of name were in favor of this proposition, believing it would tend to make the Prayer-book more widely acceptable without the church, and insure its use in congregations not Episcopal. There was a clerical majority of nearly two thirds in its favor, and it was defeated by the non-concurrence of the laity, largely on the ground that such omission in the title of the Prayer-book would be construed as a desire to change the church's name. Whenever the subject of the change of name has come distinctly to the front it has been emphatically disallowed.

Before considering the two important actions of the church at home which will conclude this record, it is well to give a brief glance at its relations abroad. These have been chiefly confined to the participation of the American bishops in the three conferences of the whole Anglican episcopate, held by invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace. At the first, held in 1867, the opening sermon was preached by Bishop Whitehouse, of Illinois, in consequence of an arrangement with the Rt. Rev. Dr. Hopkins, to whom, as presiding bishop, the appointment had been referred, in recognition of the church in the United States. Bishop Hopkins was, however, a prominent and conspicuous member of the conference; and Bishop Lee, of Delaware, made a profound impression by his learned and judicious counsel, which caused him to be especially consulted on momentous questions. As the utterances of these conferences are of no binding legal obligation, their effect has been chiefly in deepening a sense of the unity of aim and identity of life between the

sister churches on either side of the sea, in spite of diversity of operations to which their separate circ stances call them. They have resulted in a more freq interchange of pulpits between the two countries, and developed a stronger sense of brotherhood without enta any mischievous results of legislative alliance.

The two most marked actions of the church of present period remain to be noted: the enrichment o Prayer-book and the Declaration Concerning Unity. T were in a measure synchronous, the Declaration b issued after the Prayer-book revision had been begun before it was ended.

In the matter of the revision of the Prayer-book, resolution calling for the joint committee to con the question was offered by the Rev. William R. H ington, D.D., of Massachusetts, on the ninth day of session, in the General Convention of 1880. It rea follows: "*Resolved*, the House of Bishops concurring, a joint committee, to consist of seven bishops, seven byters, and seven laymen, be appointed to consider report to the next General Convention whether, in vi the fact that this church is soon to enter upon the se century of its organized existence in this country, changed conditions of the national life do not dem

laymen: Huntington, Dalrymple, Goodwin, Dix, Harwood, Garrison, Harison, Fish, Coppée, Sheffey, Wilder, Andrews, Smith, Burgwin.

It was felt at the outset that the efficiency of the committee was somewhat handicapped by the fact that the greater number of those appointed to represent the House of Deputies upon it were men who had not voted for the resolution; but this fact became of itself an argument for revision when, at the Convention held in Philadelphia three years later, the report brought in by the joint committee was found to have been signed by all the members.

The report, when presented, had attached to it a sample Prayer-book showing how the changes recommended, if adopted, would appear. This was known as the Book Annexed, and in connection with the report furnished the subject-matter for an animated debate covering the greater part of the session of 1883. The recommendations of the committee were grouped and classified so as to facilitate the process of selection, and much the greater portion of what had been recommended by the committee secured the Convention's approval. No sooner, however, had this body adjourned than, in accordance with a natural law of reaction, an attack upon the revision movement was begun all along the line; so that it presently looked as if the whole labor of the committee would come to naught. But the violence of this reaction spent itself in the course of two years, and when the time had come for the Convention to meet again, this time at Chicago, it was evident that a counter-reaction in favor of revision had begun. Opposition, however, was still strong enough to enable the opponents of the movement to secure the rejection of a great deal that had been accepted at Philadelphia. A Sifting Committee, so called, was appointed to sit in judgment upon the recommendations agreed to in Philadelphia,

and to report back to the Convention such features of revision as ought in its judgment to receive final approval. As a result of this procedure certain changes were then and there adopted and became part of the liturgical law of the church; while certain others received preliminary approval and were handed on to the next Convention for final action.

At the General Convention of 1889 the final results were gathered up, and a committee of twenty-one was appointed to prepare and present to the Convention of 1892 a standard book. It should be noted, however, that at Chicago the Committee on Revision was reorganized and its number reduced to fifteen. On the reorganized committee the original mover of the resolution for revision declined to serve.

At the General Convention of 1892, at Baltimore, the committee on the Standard Prayer-book presented its report, a learned and exhaustive document, understood to be mainly the work of the Rev. Dr. Hart. Proof-sheets of the Standard Book were at the same time presented, a canon was passed providing that henceforth the Standard should be a single volume rather than an edition, as heretofore, and the committee was continued, with instructions to provide said volume and to turn it over to the custodian with the least possible delay. The committee was also authorized to issue replicas of the Standard for the use of the several dioceses, and to reimburse itself by the sale of subscription copies, for some portion of the expense incurred. Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart, of the diocese of Connecticut, who had rendered much able service to the cause of revision, was appropriately appointed custodian.

To the fostering care of the Presiding Bishop, the Rt. Rev. John Williams, and of the Bishop of Albany, the Rt. Rev. W. C. Doane, the whole movement for revision owed a

large share of its success, but, more than to any other, to the Rev. William R. Huntington, D.D., who was its inspiration and chief guide, without whom it would not have been started, or, if started, would have failed, and whose able and courteous conduct of the long and intricate discussions in the House of Deputies secured to him the recognition by the whole church of a master of debate.

It is interesting to see in the rubrical relaxations and liturgical enrichments of the present book how fully the demands of the Memorial Movement of 1854 have been met.[1] In his letter to Bishop Otey concerning "What the Memorialists Want," in relation to the church services, Dr. Muhlenberg had specified especially these things:

1. The use of other texts of Scripture among the introductory sentences.

2. That the minister may at his discretion omit the exhortation.

3. That the minister may at his discretion omit the General Confession and Absolution on week-days, except Fridays; and on Sundays, when the holy communion is administered, may begin with one or more of the sentences of Scripture, or with the Lord's Prayer.

4. To allow the use of some twenty or thirty psalms or portions of psalms instead of the psalter for the day.

5. To allow the substitution of other lessons than those appointed.

6. To allow the substitution of certain anthems or other portions of Scripture for the present canticles of Morning or Evening Prayer.

7. To allow on certain occasions additional prayers or offices, such as shall be prescribed by the bishop.

All these demands have been more than conceded. The enrichment by additional material, if not large, has been

choice. The Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, which were contained even in the Proposed Book of 1785, and which should never have been lost, have been restored, and an additional feast-day, in the festival of the Transfiguration, has been added to the calendar. As it is now constituted the American Prayer Book is perhaps the noblest manual of public devotion in the Christian church.

The Convention of 1892, which completed the revision of the Prayer-book, adopted also a Hymnal, compiled by a committee of singular culture and ability, under the leadership of Bishop W. C. Doane, of Albany, who both by paternal heritage and native poetic gifts was fitted to be its ideal chairman.

Lacking space for a fuller treatment of the history of the Hymnal, there are a few names especially which must be gratefully associated with it. Apart from Dr. Muhlenberg, whose service has been before mentioned in this relation, the first is that of Bishop George Burgess, of Maine, who was one of the best literary scholars the church has ever known, and who brought his wide culture and distinct poetical talent to bear upon the subject between the years 1857 and 1865. His influence was marked and salutary. Another name is that of the Rt. Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, D.D., Bishop of Western New York, a co-laborer with Bishop Burgess, and a poet likewise, who by his "Christian Ballads" has set the church bells chiming in many a household, and who has bestowed a goodly heritage upon the church in his own noble hymns, which at times, as in that on the church, vibrate with a lyric ring akin to Campbell's, and again, as in that on Christ's humility, recall the meditative sweetness of Keble. With these two poet prelates, Bishop Howe, of Central Pennsylvania, associated his ample learning and cultivated taste; and in this last Hymnal, compiled under the supervising care of Bishop Doane,

all previous efforts have found their fitting culmination. As regards both prayer and praise, the church in this last decade has been amply endowed for a reverent and glowing service to Almighty God.

It was during the movement for the enrichment and revision of the Prayer-book that, at the General Convention held in Chicago in 1886, the House of Bishops issued their celebrated Declaration Concerning Unity. A memorial on the subject had been presented to them, signed by more than eleven hundred clergymen and over three thousand laymen. A committee was, in consequence, appointed "to consider the matter of the reunion of Christendom." It consisted of Bishops Littlejohn of Long Island, Bedell of Ohio, Howe of Central Pennsylvania, McCoskry of Michigan, and Galleher of Louisiana. The subject was not in substance a new one, though it was new in form. In 1785, Bishop Seabury, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. William Smith,[1] had indicated as the fixed and settled notes of the church, of universal obligation, these four: government, sacraments, faith, and doctrine. If doctrine be made equivalent to the Holy Scriptures as the source and standard of it, then the report on unity, as finally shaped by the Lambeth Conference, is in exact accord with Bishop Seabury. The attention of the committee was called as well to the much more recent and full expression of the same essential position by the Rev. Dr. William R. Huntington, in his "Essay toward Unity," called "The Church Idea."[2] The four postulates therein laid down were almost literally adopted by the committee in the four propositions which constituted the sum and substance of its report, and which are commonly known as the Quadrilateral.

[1] See Beardsley, "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury, D.D.," p. 234.

[2] "The Church Idea: An Essay toward Unity," p. 157 (E. P. Dutton & Co., 1870).

That report, after referring to the commission in 1853, in response to the Memorial of Dr. Muhlenberg, and the action taken by the bishops in council in 1880, proceeded to make the following Declaration "to all whom it may concern, and especially to our fellow-Christians of the different communions in our land who, in their several spheres, have contended for the religion of Christ:

"1. Our earnest desire that the Saviour's prayer that we all may be one may, in its deepest and truest sense, be speedily fulfilled;

"2. That we believe that all who have been duly baptized with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, are members of the Holy Catholic Church;

"3. That in all things of human ordering or human choice relating to modes of worship and discipline, or to traditional customs, this church is ready, in the spirit of love and humility, to forego all preferences of her own;

"4. That this church does not seek to absorb other communions, but rather, coöperating with them on the basis of a common faith and order, to discountenance schism, to heal the wounds of the body of Christ, and to promote the charity which is the chief of Christian graces and the visible manifestation of Christ to the world.

"But furthermore, we do hereby affirm that the Christian unity now so earnestly desired by the memorialists can be restored only by the return of all Christian communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first ages of its existence, which principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian faith and order committed by Christ and his apostles to the church unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been ordained to be its stewards and trustees for the common and equal benefit of all men.

"As inherent parts of this sacred deposit, and therefore as essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom, we account the following, to wit:

"I. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the revealed Word of God;

"II. The Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith;

"III. The two sacraments, baptism and the Supper of the Lord, ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him;

"IV. The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his church.

"Furthermore, deeply grieved by the sad divisions which afflict the Christian church in our own land, we hereby declare our desire and readiness, so soon as there shall be any authorized response to this Declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass."

This report was adopted and communicated to the House of Deputies, who subsequently asked again for the appointment of a joint commission on the subject. This action was finally concurred in, and it was made the province of the commission to communicate to the organized Christian bodies of the country the Declaration set forth by the House of Bishops, and to hold themselves ready to enter into brotherly conference with all or any such bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the church.

One remarkable effect of this Declaration was its virtual adoption and promulgation by the Lambeth Conference of 1888. By the bishops of the whole Anglican commun-

ion then assembled the articles here promulgated were amended to read as follows:

"(*a*) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith;

"(*b*) The Apostles' Creed, as the baptismal symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith;

"(*c*) The two sacraments ordained by Christ himself, baptism and the Supper of the Lord, ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him;

"(*d*) The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his church."

As thus amended the articles were accepted and adopted by the House of Deputies at the General Convention of 1892.

With this action of the General Convention we may fitly close the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church, whose course we have now traced from its sources in the colonial churches to the present time. In the consciousness of its fuller life that church seeks to secure a life ampler still for the church of Christ in America, and first of any Christian body since the Reformation has put forth a proffer of Christian unity. If the church shall be able to secure constitutional provision for carrying into effect the principles of the Declaration Concerning Unity, it will have gone far and done much toward securing a united church in the United States, and will have illustrated its steadfast adhesion to the honored legend which all praise and so few practice:

IN NECESSARIIS UNITAS, IN NON NECESSARIIS LIBERTAS, IN OMNIBUS CARITAS.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

1497–98. First voyages of the Cabots.
1579. First colonial charter to Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
1587. First service in North Carolina, and first baptism.
1602–03. First church services in New England.
1607. First church built and services held in Virginia.
1619. First legislative meeting in Jamestown.
1663. First church services in New York.
1691. Charter obtained for William and Mary College.
1719. First church Convention at Williamsburg, Va.
1722. Conversion of Cutler and Johnson, of Yale.
1735–36. Visit to America of the Wesleys and of Whitefield.
1783. Church Convention at Annapolis, Md.
1784. Preliminary meeting of clergy at New Brunswick, N. J.
1784. Consecration of Bishop Seabury.
1784. Six fundamental constitutional principles set forth.
1785. First ordination in America (Rev. Philo Shelton).
1785. First General Convention, in Philadelphia.
1785. The Proposed Book set forth.
1786. General ecclesiastical constitution approved.
1787. Consecration of Bishops White and Provoost.
1789. Constitution, canons, and Prayer-book adopted.
1790. Consecration of Bishop Madison.
1792. First consecration of a bishop in America (Dr. Claggett).
1801. The Articles of Religion established.
1821. The General Theological Seminary founded.
1829. Mission to Greece established.
1835. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society founded.
1835. First missionaries go to China.
1835. First domestic missionary bishops elected.
1835–36. Missionaries go to Africa.
1845. Sisterhoods first started.
1853. The Memorial Movement.
1859. First missionaries go to Japan.
1859–62. Revision of the Hymnal.
1861–65. Civil War and reunion.
1873. First bishop for the Indians consecrated.

1874. First Church Congress held.
1874. First bishop for Haiti consecrated.
1874. Canon concerning ritual adopted.
1879. Bishop for Mexico consecrated.
1880–92. Revision of the Prayer-book.
1886. Declaration of House of Bishops on Christian Unity.
1889. Order of deaconesses recognized by canon.
1892. Committee on Revision of Constitution appointed.

APPENDIX A.

CONCORDAT OF BISHOP SEABURY AND THE NONJURING SCOTCH B ATES, HIS CONSECRATORS, NOVEMBER 15, 1784.

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Ghost, one God, Blessed for ever. Amen.

The wise and gracious providence of this merciful God having put the hearts of the Christians of the Episcopal persuasion in Connecti North America, to desire that the blessings of a free, valid, and purely siastical Episcopacy might be communicated to them, and a Church re formed in that part of the western world upon the most ancient and pri model; and application having been made for this purpose, by the Re Dr. Samuel Seabury, Presbyter in Connecticut, to the Right Revere Bishops of the Church in Scotland; the said Bishops, having taken th posal into their serious consideration, most heartily concurred to promo encourage the same, as far as lay in their power; and accordingly beg pious and good work recommended to them, by complying with the r of the clergy in Connecticut, and advancing the said Dr. Samuel Seab the high order of the Episcopate; at the same time earnestly prayin this work of the Lord, thus happily begun, might prosper in his han it should please the great and glorious Head of the Church to incre number of Bishops in America, and send forth more such labourers in part of His harvest. Animated with this pious hope, and earnestly de to establish a bond of peace and holy communion between the two Chu the Bishops of the Church in Scotland, whose names are underwritten,

ARTICLE III. They agree in declaring that the Episcopal Church in Connecticut is to be in full communion with the Episcopal Church in Scotland; it being their sincere resolution to put matters on such a footing as that the members of both Churches may with safety and freedom communicate with either, when their occasions call them from the one country to the other; only taking care when in Scotland not to hold communion in sacred offices with those persons who, under pretence of Ordination by an English or Irish bishop, do, or shall take upon them to officiate as clergymen in any part of the National Church of Scotland, and whom the Scottish Bishops cannot help looking upon as schismatical intruders, designed only to answer worldly purposes, and uncommissioned disturbers of the poor remains of that once flourishing Church, which both their predecessors and they have, under many difficulties, laboured to preserve pure and uncorrupted to future ages.

ARTICLE IV. With a view to the salutary purpose mentioned in the preceding Articles, they agree in desiring that there may be as near a conformity in worship and discipline established between the two Churches as is consistent with the different circumstances and customs of nations; and in order to avoid any bad effects that might otherwise arise from political differences, they hereby express their earnest wish and firm intention to observe such prudent generality in their public prayers, with respect to these points, as shall appear most agreeable to apostolic rules and the practice of the primitive Church.

ARTICLE V. As the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or the administration of the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal bond of union among Christians, as well as the most solemn act of worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little variance here as possible. And though the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can, consistently with peace and prudence, to make the celebration of this venerable mystery conformable to the most primitive doctrine and practice in that respect, which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion Office, and which it has been the wish of some of the most eminent divines of the Church of England that she also had more closely followed than she seems to have done since she gave up her first reformed liturgy used in the reign of King Edward VI., between which and the form used in the Church of Scotland there is no difference in any point which the primitive Church reckoned essential to the right ministration of the Holy Eucharist. In this capital article therefore of the Eucharistic service, in which the Scottish Bishops so earnestly wish for as much unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious view of the Communion Office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine standards of antiquity, to give his sanction to it, and by gentle methods of argument and persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice, without the compulsion of authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former custom on the other.

ARTICLE VI. It is also hereby agreed and resolved upon, for the better answering the purposes of this Concordate, that a brotherly fellowship be henceforth maintained between the Episcopal Churches in Scotland and Connecticut, and such a mutual intercourse of ecclesiastical correspondence carried on, when opportunity offers or necessity requires, as may tend to the support and edification of both Churches.

ARTICLE VII. The Bishops aforesaid do hereby jointly declare, in the most solemn manner, that in the whole of this transaction they have nothing else in view but the glory of God and the good of His Church; and being thus pure and upright in their intentions, they cannot but hope that all whom it may concern will put the most fair and candid construction on their conduct, and take no offence at their feeble but sincere endeavours to promote what they believe to be the cause of truth and of the common salvation.

In testimony of their love, to which, and in mutual good faith and confidence, they have for themselves and their successors in office cheerfully put their names and seals to these presents at Aberdeen, this fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

ROBERT KILGOUR, *Bishop and Primus.* [L. S.]
ARTHUR PETRIE, *Bishop.* [L. S.]
JOHN SKINNER, JUNR., *Bishop.* [L. S.]
SAMUEL SEABURY, *Bishop.* [L. S.]

APPENDIX AA.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE ENGLISH ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS CONCERNING CONFERRING THE EPISCOPATE ON AMERICA.

THE action of the Convention in this matter is summed up in the address and resolves which we append. With a few verbal alterations, they are the composition of Dr. William White, and are worthy of remembrance from their dignified and courteous style, and the careful avoidance of fawning or flattery. The resolutions were as follows:

"*Resolved:* I. That this Convention address the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, requesting them to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be chosen and recommended to them for that purpose from the Conventions of this Church in the respective States.

"II. That it be recommended to the said Conventions that they elect persons for this purpose.

"III. That it be further recommended to the different Conventions, at their next respective sessions, to appoint committees, with powers to correspond with the English bishops, for the carrying of these resolutions into effect; and that until such committees shall be appointed, they be requested to direct any communications which they may be pleased to make on this subject to the committee, consisting of the Rev. Dr. White (President), the Rev. Dr. Smith, the Rev. Mr. Provoost, the Hon. James Duane, and Samuel Powell and Richard Peters, Esquires.

"IV. That it be further recommended to the different Conventions, that they pay especial attention to the making it appear to their Lordships, that the persons who shall be sent to them for consecration are desired in the character of Bishops, as well by the Laity as by the Clergy of this Church in the said States, respectively; and that they will be received by them in that character on their return.

"V. And in order to assure their Lordships of the legality of the present proposed application, that the Deputies now assembled be desired to make a respectful address to the civil rulers of the States in which they respectively

reside, to certify that the said application is not contrary to the Constitution and laws of the same.

"VI. And whereas the Bishops of this Church will not be entitled to any of such temporal honours as are due to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Parent Church, in quality of Lords of Parliament; and whereas the reputation and usefulness of our Bishops will considerably depend on their taking no higher titles or stile than will be due to their spiritual employments; that it be recommended to this Church, in the States here represented, to provide that their respective Bishops may be called 'The Rt. Rev. A. B., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in C. D.,' and, as a Bishop, may have no other title, and may not use any such stile as is usually descriptive of temporal power and precedency."

First Letter.

"*To the Most Reverend and Right Reverend the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of the Church of England.*

"We the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the United States of America, think it our duty to address your Lordships on a subject deeply interesting, not only to ourselves and those whom we represent, but, as we conceive, to the common cause of Christianity.

"Our forefathers, when they left the land of their nativity, did not leave the bosom of that Church over which your Lordships now preside; but, as well from a veneration for Episcopal government, as from an attachment to the admirable services of our Liturgy, continued in willing connection with their ecclesiastical superiors in England, and were subjected to many local inconveniences, rather than break the unity of the Church to which they belonged.

"When it pleased the Supreme Ruler of the universe, that this part of the British empire should be free, sovereign, and independent, it became the most important concern of the members of our Communion to provide for its continuance. And while, in accomplishing of this, they kept in view that wise and liberal part of the system of the Church of England which excludes as well the claiming as the acknowledging of such spiritual subjection as may be inconsistent with the civil duties of her children; it was nevertheless their earnest desire and resolution to retain the venerable form of Episcopal government handed down to them, as they conceive, from the time of the Apostles, and endeared to them by the remembrance of the holy Bishops of the primitive Church, of the blessed Martyrs who reformed the doctrine and worship of the Church of England, and of the many great and pious Prelates who have adorned that Church in every succeeding age. But however general the desire of compleating the Orders of our Ministry, so diffused and unconnected were the members of our Communion over this extensive country, that much time and negociation were necessary for the forming a representative body of the greater number of Episcopalians in these States; and owing to the same causes, it was not until this Convention that sufficient powers could be procured for the addressing your Lordships on this subject.

"The petition which we offer to your Venerable Body is,—that from a tender regard to the religious interests of thousands in this rising empire, professing the same religious principles with the Church of England, you will be pleased to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recom-

mended by this Church in the several States here represented—full satisfaction being given of the sufficiency of the persons recommended, and of its being the intention of the general body of the Episcopalians in the said States respectively, to receive them in the quality of Bishops.

"Whether this our request will meet with insurmountable impediments, from the political regulations of the kingdom in which your Lordships fill such distinguished stations, it is not for us to foresee. We have not been ascertained that any such will exist; and are humbly of opinion, that as citizens of these States, interested in their prosperity, and religiously regarding the allegiance which we owe them, it is to an ecclesiastical source only we can apply in the present exigency.

"It may be of consequence to observe, that in these States there is a separation between the concerns of policy and those of religion; that, accordingly, our civil rulers cannot officially join in the present application; that, however, we are far from apprehending the opposition or even displeasure of any of those honourable personages; and finally, that in this business we are justified by the Constitutions of the States, which are the foundations and controul of all our laws. On this point we beg leave to refer to the enclosed extracts from the Constitutions of the respective States of which we are citizens, and we flatter ourselves that they must be satisfactory.

"Thus, we have stated to your Lordships the nature and the grounds of our application; which we have thought it most respectful and most suitable to the magnitude of the object, to address to your Lordships for your deliberation before any person is sent over to carry them into effect. Whatever may be the event, no time will efface the remembrance of the past services of your Lordships and your predecessors. The Archbishops of Canterbury were not prevented, even by the weighty concerns of their high stations, from attending to the interests of this distant branch of the Church under their care. The Bishops of London were our Diocesans; and the uninterrupted although voluntary submission of our congregations, will remain a perpetual proof of their mild and paternal government. All the Bishops of England, with other distinguished characters, as well ecclesiastical as civil, have concurred in forming and carrying on the benevolent views of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts: a Society to whom, under God, the prosperity of our Church is in an eminent degree to be ascribed. It is our earnest wish to be permitted to make, through your Lordships, this just acknowledgment to that venerable Society: a tribute of gratitude which we the rather take this opportunity of paying, as while they thought it necessary to withdraw their pecuniary assistance from our Ministers, they have endeared their past favours by a benevolent declaration, that it is far from their thoughts to alienate their affection from their brethren now under another government—with the pious wish, that their former exertions may still continue to bring forth the fruits they aimed at of pure religion and virtue. Our hearts are penetrated with the most lively gratitude by these generous sentiments; the long succession of former benefits passes in review before us; we pray that our Church may be a lasting monument of the usefulness of so worthy a body; and that her sons may never cease to be kindly affectioned to the members of that Church, the Fathers of which have so tenderly watched over her infancy.

"For your Lordships in particular, we most sincerely wish and pray, that you may long continue the ornaments of the Church of England, and at last receive the reward of the righteous from the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

"We are, with all the respect which is due to your exalted and venerable characters and stations,

"Your Lordships
"Most obedient and
"Most humble Servants.
"(Signed by the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Convention.)

"IN CONVENTION:
"Christ Church, Philadelphia,
"October 5th, 1785."

Second Letter.

"*To the Most Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers in God, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England.*

"MOST WORTHY AND VENERABLE PRELATES: We the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, have received the friendly and affectionate letter which your Lordships did us the honour to write on the 24th day of February, and for which we request you to accept our sincere and grateful acknowledgments.

"It gives us pleasure to be assured, that the success of our application will probably meet with no greater obstacles than what have arisen from doubts respecting the extent of the alterations we have made and proposed; and we are happy to learn, that as no political impediments oppose us here, those which at present exist in England may be removed.

"While doubts remain of our continuing to hold the same essential articles of faith and discipline with the Church of England, we acknowledge the propriety of suspending a compliance with our request.

"We are unanimous and explicit in assuring your Lordships, that we neither have departed, nor propose to depart from the doctrines of your Church. We have retained the same discipline and forms of worship as far as was consistent with our civil Constitutions; and we have made no alterations or omissions in the Book of Common Prayer but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections which it appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate than to dispute. It is well known, that many great and pious men of the Church of England have long wished for a revision of the Liturgy, which it was deemed imprudent to hazard, lest it might become a precedent for repeated and improper alterations. This is with us the proper season for such a revision. We are now settling and ordering the affairs of our Church, and if wisely done, we shall have reason to promise ourselves all the advantages that can result from stability and union.

"We are anxious to complete our Episcopal system by means of the Church of England. We esteem and prefer it, and with gratitude acknowledge the patronage and favours for which, while connected, we have constantly been indebted to that Church. These considerations, added to that of agreement in faith and worship, press us to repeat our former request, and to endeavour to remove your present hesitation, by sending you our proposed Ecclesiastical Constitution and Book of Common Prayer.

"These documents, we trust, will afford a full answer to every question

candid and kind. We repose full confidence in the assurance it gives; and that confidence, together with the liberality and catholicism of your venerable body, leads us to flatter ourselves, that you will not disclaim a branch of your Church merely for having been, in your Lordships' opinion, if that should be the case, pruned rather more closely than its separation made absolutely necessary.

"We have only to add, that as our Church in sundry of these States have already proceeded to the election of persons to be sent for consecration, and others may soon proceed to the same, we pray to be favoured with as speedy an answer to this our second address, as in your great goodness you were pleased to give to our former one.

"We are,
"With great and sincere respect,
"Most worthy and venerable Prelates,
"Your obedient and
"Very humble servants.
"(Signed by the President and Members of the Convention.)

"In Convention:
"Christ Church, Philadelphia,
"June 26, 1780."

APPENDIX B.

A GENERAL ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AGREED UPON AT THE CONVENTION HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 1785.

Whereas, in the course of Divine Providence, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is become independent of all foreign authority, civil and ecclesiastical:

And Whereas, at a meeting of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the said Church, in sundry of the said States, viz., in the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, held in the city of New York on the 6th and 7th days of October, in the year of our Lord, 1784, it was recommended to this Church in the said States represented as aforesaid, and proposed to this Church in the States not represented, that they should send Deputies to a Convention to be held in the city of Philadelphia, on the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael in this present year, in order to unite in a Constitution of ecclesiastical government, agreeably to certain fundamental principles, expressed in the said recommendation and proposal.

And Whereas, in consequence of the said recommendation and proposal, Clerical and Lay Deputies have been duly appointed from the said Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina.

The said Deputies being now assembled, and taking into consideration the importance of maintaining uniformity in doctrine, discipline, and worship in the said Church, do hereby determine and declare:

I. That there shall be a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, which shall be held in the city of

Philadelphia on the third Tuesday in June, in the year of our Lord 1786, and for ever after once in three years, on the third Tuesday of June, in such place as shall be determined by the Convention; and special meetings may be held at such other times and in such place as shall be hereafter provided for; and this Church, in a majority of the States aforesaid, shall be represented before they proceed to business; except that the representation of this Church from two States shall be sufficient to adjourn; and in all business of the Convention freedom of debate shall be allowed.

II. There shall be a representation of both Clergy and Laity of the Church in each State, which shall consist of one or more Deputies, not exceeding four of each Order; and in all questions, the said Church in each State shall have one vote; and a majority of suffrages shall be conclusive.

III. In the said Church in every State represented in this Convention, there shall be a Convention consisting of the Clergy and Lay Deputies of the congregation.

IV. "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England," shall be continued to be used by this Church, as the same is altered by this Convention, in a certain instrument of writing passed by their authority, intituled, "Alterations of the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in order to render the same conformable to the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States."

V. In every State where there shall be a Bishop duly consecrated and settled, and who shall have acceded to the articles of this General Ecclesiastical Constitution, he shall be considered as a member of the Convention *ex officio*.

VI. The Bishop or Bishops in every State shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the respective Conventions; and every Bishop of this Church shall confine the exercise of his Episcopal office to his proper diocese, and be respected to ordain or confirm by any church destitute of a Bishop.

VII. A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States not now represented, may at any time hereafter be admitted, on acceding to the articles of this union.

VIII. Every clergyman, whether Bishop, or priest or deacon, shall be amenable to the authorities of the Convention in the State in which he shall reside, or to the supreme court of removal from office; and the Convention of each State shall institute rules for their conduct, and an equitable mode of trial.

IX. And whereas it is represented to this Convention, to be the desire of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States, that there may be no further alterations in the Liturgy, than such as are made necessary by the American Revolution; therefore the "Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England," as altered by an instrument of writing passed under the authority of this Convention, intituled "Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, proposed and recommended to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," shall be used in this Church when the same shall have been ratified by the Conventions which have respectively sent Deputies to this General Convention.

X. No person shall be ordained or permitted to officiate as a minister in this Church, until he shall have subscribed the following declaration: "I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as settled and determined in the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, set forth by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States."

XI. This General Ecclesiastical Constitution, when ratified by the Church in the different States, shall be considered as fundamental, and shall be unalterable by the Convention of the Church in any State.

APPENDIX C.

CANONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AGREED ON AND RATIFIED IN THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF SAID CHURCH, HELD IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, FROM THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF JULY TO THE EIGHTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1789, INCLUSIVE.

CANON 1.

In this Church there shall always be three Orders in the Ministry, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

CANON 2.

Every Bishop elect, before his consecration, shall produce to the Bishops, to whom he is presented for that holy office, from the Convention by whom he is elected a Bishop, and from the General Convention, or a Committee of that body appointed to act in their recess, certificates, respectively in the following words, viz.:

Testimony from the Members of the Convention in the State from whence the Person is recommended for Consecration.

We, whose names are underwritten, fully sensible how important it is, that the sacred office of a Bishop should not be unworthily conferred, and firmly persuaded that it is our duty to bear testimony on this solemn occasion without partiality or affection, do, in the presence of Almighty God, testify, that A B is not, so far as we are informed, justly liable to evil report, either for error in religion or for viciousness of life; and that we do not know or believe there is any impediment or notable crime for which he ought not to be consecrated to that holy office. We do, moreover, jointly and severally declare that, having personally known him for three years last past, we do in our consciences believe him to be of such sufficiency in good learning, such soundness in the faith, and of such virtuous and pure manners and godly conversation, that he is apt and meet to exercise the office of a Bishop, to the honour of God and the edifying of his Church, and to be an wholesome example to the flock of Christ.

Testimony from the General Convention.

We whose names are underwritten, fully sensible how important it is that the sacred office of a Bishop should not be unworthily conferred, and firmly persuaded that it is our duty to bear our testimony on this solemn occasion without partiality or affection, do, in the presence of Almighty God, testify that A B is not, so far as we are informed, justly liable to evil report either for error in religion or for viciousness of life; and that we do not know or believe there is any impediment or notable crime, on account of which he ought not to be consecrated to that holy office, but that he hath, as we believe, led his life, for the three years last past, piously, soberly, and honestly.

CANON 3.

Every Bishop in this Church shall, as often as may be convenient, visit the churches within his Diocese or district, for the purposes of examining the state of his Church, inspecting the behaviour of the clergy, and administering the apostolic rite of Confirmation.

CANON 4.

Deacon's Orders shall not be conferred on any person until he shall be twenty one years old, nor Priest's Orders on any one until he shall be twenty-four years old; and, except on urgent occasion, unless he hath been a Deacon one year. No man shall be consecrated a Bishop of this Church until he shall be thirty years old.

CANON 5.

No person shall be ordained either Deacon or Priest, unless he shall produce a satisfactory certificate from some Church, parish, or congregation, that he is engaged with them, and that they will receive him as their minister and allow him a reasonable support; or unless he be engaged as a professor, tutor or instructor of youth, in some college, academy, or general seminary of learning, duly incorporated; or unless the Standing Committee of the Church in the State for which he is to be ordained, shall certify to the Bishop their full belief and expectation, that he will be received and settled as a pastor by some one of the vacant churches in that State.

CANON 6.

Every candidate for Holy Orders shall be recommended to the Bishop by a Standing Committee of the Convention of the State wherein he resides, which recommendation shall be signed by the names of a majority of the Committee, and shall be in the following words:

We, whose names are hereunder written, testify that A B, for the space of three years last past, hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly: Nor hath he at any time, as far as we know or believe, written, taught, or held, anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church. And, moreover, we think him a person worthy to be admitted to

But before a Standing Committee of any State shall proceed to recommend any candidate, as aforesaid, to the Bishop, such candidate shall produce testimonials of his good morals and orderly conduct for three years last past, from the Minister and Vestry of the parish where he has resided, or from the Vestry alone if the parish be vacant—a publication of his intention to apply for Holy Orders having been previously made by such Minister or Vestry.

CANON 7.

In every State in which there is no Standing Committee, such Committee shall be appointed at its next ensuing Convention; and in the mean time, every candidate for Holy Orders shall be recommended according to the regulations or usage of the Church in each State, and the requisitions of the Bishop to whom he applies.

CANON 8.

No person shall be ordained in this Church until he shall have satisfied the Bishop and the two Presbyters, by whom he shall be examined, that he is sufficiently acquainted with the New Testament in the original Greek, and can give an account of his faith in the Latin tongue, either in writing or otherwise, as may be required.

CANON 9.

Agreeably to the practice of the primitive Church, the stated times of Ordination shall be on the Sundays following the Ember weeks, viz., the Second Sunday in Lent, the Feast of Trinity, and the Sundays after the Wednesdays following the fourteenth day of September and the thirteenth of December.

CANON 10.

No person, not a member of this Church, who shall profess to be episcopally ordained, shall be permitted to officiate therein, until he shall have exhibited to the Vestry of the Church in which he shall offer to officiate, a certificate signed by the Bishop of the Diocese or district, or, where there is no Bishop, by three Clergymen of the Standing Committee of the Convention of that State, that his Letters of Orders are authentic, and given by some Bishop whose authority is acknowledged by this Church, and also satisfactory evidence of his moral character.

Signed, by order of the Convention,

WILLIAM WHITE,

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and President of the Convention.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX D.

THE MEMORIAL ADDRESSED TO THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS, 1853.

To the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in Council assembled.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS: The undersigned, presbyters of the Church of which you have the oversight, venture to approach your venerable body

with an expression of sentiment, which their estimate of your office in relation to the times does not permit them to withhold. In so doing, they have confidence in your readiness to appreciate their motives and their aims. The actual posture of our Church with reference to the great moral and social necessities of the day, presents to the minds of the undersigned a subject of grave and anxious thought. Did they suppose that this was confined to themselves, they would not feel warranted in submitting it to your attention; but they believe it to be participated in by many of their brethren, who may not have seen the expediency of declaring their views, or at least a mature season for such a course.

The divided and distracted state of our American Protestant Christianity, the new and subtle forms of unbelief adapting themselves with fatal success to the spirit of the age, the consolidated forces of Romanism bearing with renewed skill and activity against the Protestant faith, and as more or less the consequence of these, the utter ignorance of the Gospel among so large a portion of the lower classes of our population, making a heathen world in our midst, are among the considerations which induce your memorialists to present the inquiry whether the period has not arrived for the adoption of measures, to meet these exigencies of the times, more comprehensive than any yet provided for by our present ecclesiastical system: in other words, whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public worship, and her traditional customs and usages, is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and in this age? This question, your petitioners, for their own part, and in consonance with many thoughtful minds among us, believe must be answered in the negative. Their memorial proceeds on the assumption that our Church, confined to the exercise of her present system, is not sufficient to the great purposes above mentioned—that a wider door must be opened for admission to the Gospel ministry than that through which her candidates for holy orders are now obliged to enter. Besides such candidates among her own members, it is believed that men can be found among the other bodies of Christians around us, who would gladly receive ordination at your hands, could they obtain it, without that entire surrender which would now be required of them, of *all* the liberty in public worship to which they have been accustomed—men who could not bring themselves to conform in all particulars to our prescriptions and customs, but yet sound in the faith, and who, having the gifts of preachers and pastors, would be able ministers of the New Testament. With deference it is asked, ought such an accession to your means in executing your high commission, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," be refused, for the sake of conformity in matters recognized in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer as unessentials? Dare we pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into the harvest, while we reject all laborers but those of one peculiar type? The extension of orders to the class of men contemplated (with whatever safeguards, not infringing on evangelical freedom, which your wisdom might deem expedient), appears to your petitioners to be a subject supremely worthy of your deliberations.

In addition to the prospect of the immediate good which would thus be opened, an important step would be taken towards the effecting of a Church unity in the Protestant Christendom of our land. To become a central bond of union among Christians, who, though differing in name, yet hold to the

one Faith, the one Lord, and the one Baptism, and who need only
bond to be drawn together in closer and more primitive fellowship, i
believed to be the peculiar province and high privilege of your ven
body as a College of CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC BISHOPS *as such.*

This leads your petitioners to declare the ultimate design of their me
—which is to submit the practicability, under your auspices, of some e
astical system, broader and more comprehensive than that which yo
administer, surrounding and including the Protestant Episcopal Churc
now is, leaving that Church untouched, identical with that Church in
great principles, yet providing for as much freedom in opinion, disciplin
worship as is compatible with the essential Faith and order of the C
To define and act upon such a system, it is believed, must sooner or la
the work of an American Catholic Episcopate.

In justice to themselves on this occasion, your memorialists beg le
remark that, although aware that the foregoing views are not confi
their own small number, they have no reason to suppose that any
parties contemplate a public expression of them, like the present. I
therefore undertaken it, they trust that they have not laid themselves o
the charge of unwarranted intrusion. They find their warrant in the
now offered up by all our congregations, "that the comfortable Gos
Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed, in all
to the breaking down of the kingdom of Sin, Satan and Death." Con
that, for the attainment of these blessed ends, there must be some
concert of action among Protestant Christians, than any which yet exis
believing that with you, Rt. Rev'd Fathers, it rests to take the first me
tending thereto, your petitioners could not do less than humbly submi
memorial to such consideration as in your wisdom you may see fit to g
—Praying that it may not be dismissed without reference to a Comm
and assuring you, Right Reverend Fathers, of our dutiful veneratio
esteem,

We are, most respectfully, your Brethren and Servants in the Gos
Christ,

W. A. MUHLENBERG, ALEX. H. VINTON,
C. F. CRUSE, M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE,
PHILIP BERRY, S. H. TURNER,

2	[illegible]	1st	Pennsylvania		Feb. 4, 1787
3	Samuel Provoost	1st	New York		Feb. 4, 1787
4	James Madison	1st	Virginia		Sept. 19, 1790
5	Thomas John Claggett	1st	Maryland		Sept. 17, 1792
6	Robert Smith	1st	South Carolina		Sept. 13, 1795
7	Edward Bass	1st	Massachusetts	2d, Rhode Island	May 7, 1797
8	Abraham Jarvis	2d	Connecticut		Sept. 18, 1797
9	Benjamin Moore	2d	New York (Coad.)	Bp. 1815	Sept. 11, 1801
10	Samuel Parker	2d	Massachusetts		Sept. 14, 1804
11	John Henry Hobart	3d	New York (Coad.)	Bp. 1816	May 29, 1811
12	Alexander Viets Griswold	1st	Eastern Diocese		May 29, 1811
13	Theodore Dehon	2d	South Carolina		Oct. 15, 1812
14	Richard Channing Moore	2d	Virginia		May 18, 1813
15	James Kemp	2d	Maryland (Suff.)	Bp. 1816	Sept. 1, 1814
16	John Croes	1st	New Jersey		Nov. 19, 1815
17	Nathaniel Bowen	3d	South Carolina		Oct. 8, 1818
18	Philander Chase	1st	Ohio	1st, Illinois, 1835	Feb. 11, 1819
19	Thomas Church Brownell	3d	Connecticut		Oct. 27, 1819
20	John Stark Ravenscroft	1st	North Carolina		May 22, 1823
21	Henry Ustick Onderdonk	2d	Pennsylvania (Asst.)	Bp. 1836	Oct. 25, 1827
22	William Meade	3d	Virginia (Asst.)	Bp. 1841	Aug. 19, 1829
23	William Murray Stone	3d	Maryland		Oct. 21, 1830
24	Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk	4th	New York		Nov. 26, 1830
25	Levi Silliman Ives	2d	North Carolina		Sept. 22, 1831

[1] Names of living bishops printed in small capitals.

APPENDIX E.—*Continued.*

NO.	NAME.	ORDER.	DIOCESE.	CONSECRATED.
26	John Henry Hopkins	1st	Vermont (3d Acting)	Oct. 31, 1832
27	Benjamin Bosworth Smith	1st	Kentucky	Oct. 31, 1832
28	Charles Petit McIlvaine	2d	Ohio	Oct. 31, 1832
29	George Washington Doane	2d	New Jersey	Oct. 31, 1832
30	James Hervey Otey	[illegible]	Tennessee	Jan. 14, 1834
31	Jackson Kemper	1st	Missouri and Indiana (Miss.)	1st, Wisconsin, 1854 Sept. 25, 1835
32	Samuel Allen McCoskry	1st	Michigan (2d Acting)	July 7, 1836
33	Leonidas Polk	1st	Arkansas (Miss.)	1st, Louisiana, 1841 Dec. 9, 1838
34	William Heathcote De Lancey	1st	Western New York	May 9, 1839
35	Christopher Edwards Gadsden	4th	South Carolina	June 21, 1840
36	William Rollinson Whittingham	4th	Maryland	Sept. 17, 1840
37	Stephen Elliott	1st	Georgia	Feb. 28, 1841
38	Alfred Lee	1st	Delaware	Oct. 12, 1841
39	John Johns	4th	Virginia (Asst.)	Bp. 1862 Oct. 13, 1842
40	Manton Eastburn	3d	Massachusetts (Asst., 4th Acting)	Dec. 29, 1842
41	John Prentiss Kewly Henshaw	1st	Rhode Island (4th Acting)	Aug. 11, 1843
42	Carlton Chase	1st	New Hampshire (2d Acting)	Oct. 20, 1844
43	Nicholas Hamner Cobbs	1st	Alabama (3d Acting)	Oct. 20, 1844
44	Cicero Stephens Hawks	1st	Missouri	Oct. 20, 1844
45	William Jones Boone	1st	Amoy, China (Miss.)	Oct. 26, 1844
46	George Washington Freeman	2d	Arkansas (Miss.) and of the Southwest	Oct. 26, 1844
47	Horatio Southgate	1st	Constantinople (Miss.)	Resigned 1850 Oct. 26, 1844
48	Alonzo Potter	3d	Pennsylvania	Died on shipboard Feb. 23, 1845
49	George Burgess	1st	Maine (3d Acting)	Died at sea Oct. 31, 1847
50	George Upfold	1st	Indiana	Dec. 16, 1849
51	William Mercer Green	1st	Mississippi (3d Acting)	Feb. 24, 1850
52	John Payne	1st	Africa (Miss.)	July 11, 1851
53	Francis Huger Rutledge	1st	Florida	Oct. 15, 1851
54	JOHN WILLIAMS	4th	Connecticut (Asst.)	Bp. 1865 Oct. 29, 1851
55	Henry John Whitehouse	2d	Illinois	Nov. 20, 1851

Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright	5th	New York (Provisional)	Nov. 10, 1852
Thomas Frederick Davis	5th	South Carolina	Oct. 17, 1853
Thomas Atkinson	3d	North Carolina (4th Acting)	Oct. 17, 1853
William Ingraham Kip	1st	California (Miss.) Bp. of Diocese, 1857	Oct. 28, 1853
Thomas Fielding Scott	1st	Oregon and Washington Territory (Miss.)	Jan. 8, 1854
Henry Washington Lee	1st	Iowa (2d Acting)	Oct. 18, 1854
Horatio Potter	6th	New York (Provisional) Bp. 1861	Nov. 22, 1854
THOMAS MARCH CLARK	2d	Rhode Island	Dec. 6, 1854
Samuel Bowman	..	Pennsylvania (Asst.)	Aug. 25, 1858
Alexander Gregg	1st	Texas	Oct. 13, 1859
William Henry Odenheimer	3d	New Jersey 1st, Northern New Jersey, 1874	Oct. 13, 1859
Gregory Thurston Bedell	3d	Ohio (Asst.) Bp. 1873; resigned 1889	Oct. 13, 1859
HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE	1st	Minnesota	Oct. 23, 1859
Henry Champlin Lay	3d	Arkansas (Miss.) (1st, Easton, tr. April 1, 1869	Oct. 23, 1859
Joseph Cruikshank Talbot	1st	Northwest (Miss.) 2d, Indiana, 1865 (Asst.); Bp. 1872	Feb. 15, 1860
William Bacon Stevens	4th	Pennsylvania (Asst.) Bp. 1865	Jan. 2, 1862
RICHARD HOOKER WILMER	2d	Alabama (4th Acting)	Mar. 6, 1862
Thomas Hubbard Vail	1st	Kansas	Dec. 15, 1864
ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE	2d	Western New York (Asst.) Bp. 1865	Jan. 4, 1865
CHARLES TODD QUINTARD	2d	Tennessee	Oct. 11, 1865
Robert Harper Clarkson	1st	Nebraska (Miss.)	Nov. 15, 1865
George Maxwell Randall	1st	Colorado (Miss.)	Dec. 28, 1865
John Barrett Kerfoot	1st	Pittsburg	Jan. 25, 1866
CHANNING MOORE WILLIAMS	2d	China and Japan (Miss.) 1st, Yedo, 1874; R. 1889	Oct. 3, 1866
Joseph Pére Bell Wilmer	2d	Louisiana	Oct. 3, 1866
George David Cummins	..	Kentucky (Asst.)	Nov. 7, 1866
William Edmond Armitage	2d	Wisconsin (Asst.)	Nov. 15, 1866
HENRY ADAMS NEELY	2d	Maine (4th Acting) Bp. 1870	Dec. 6, 1866
DANIEL SYLVESTER TUTTLE	1st	Utah (Miss.)	Jan. 25, 1867
John Freeman Young	2d	Florida 3d, Missouri, 1886	May 1, 1867
John Watous Beckwith	2d	Georgia	July 25, 1867
FRANCIS MCNEECE WHITTLE	5th	Virginia (Asst.) Bp. 1876	April 2, 1868
			April 30, 1868

APPENDIX E.—*Continued.*

NO.	NAME.	ORDER.	DIOCESE.	CONSECRATED.
88	William Henry Augustus Bissell	2d	Vermont	June 3, 1868
89	Charles Franklin Robertson	2d	Missouri	Oct. 25, 1868
90	Benjamin Wistar Morris	2d	Oregon (Miss.), and Washington to 1880	Dec. 3, 1868
91	Abram Newkirk Littlejohn	1st	Long Island	Jan. 27, 1869
92	William Croswell Doane	1st	Albany	Feb. 2, 1869
93	Frederic Dan Huntington	1st	Central New York	April 8, 1869
94	Ozi William Whitaker	1st	Nevada (Miss.) ... Asst. Bp. Pa., 1886; Bp. 1887	Oct. 13, 1869
95	Henry Niles Pierce	4th	Arkansas (Miss.)	Jan. 25, 1870
96	William Woodruff Niles	2d	New Hampshire	Sept. 21, 1870
97	William Pinkney	5th	Maryland (Asst.) ... Bp. 1879	Oct. 6, 1870
98	William Bell White Howe	6th	South Carolina	Oct. 8, 1871
99	Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe	1st	Central Pennsylvania	Dec. 28, 1871
100	William Hobart Hare	1st	Niobrara (Miss.), South Dakota, 1883	Jan. 9, 1873
101	John Gottlieb Auer	2d	Cape Palmas, Africa (Miss.)	April 17, 1873
102	Benjamin Henry Paddock	4th	Massachusetts	Sept. 17, 1873
103	Theodore Benedict Lyman	4th	North Carolina (Asst.) ... Bp. 1881	Dec. 11, 1873
104	John Franklin Spalding	2d	Colorado (Miss.) ... Diocese, 1887	Dec. 31, 1873
105	Edward Randolph Welles	3d	Wisconsin ... Milwaukee, 1886	Oct. 24, 1874
106	Robert W. Barnwell Elliott	1st	Western Texas (Miss.)	Feb. 15, 1874
107	John Henry Ducachet Wingfield	1st	Northern California (Miss.)	Nov. 2, 1874
108	Alexander Charles Garrett	1st	Northern Texas (Miss.)	Dec. 20, 1874
109	William Forbes Adams	1st	New Mexico (Miss.) ... R. 1876; Bp. Easton, 1887	Dec. 17, 1874
110	Thomas Underwood Dudley	2d	Kentucky (Asst.) ... Bp. 1884	Jan. 27, 1875
111	John Scarborough	4th	New Jersey	Jan. 2, 1875
112	George De Normandie Gillespie	1st	Western Michigan	Feb. 24, 1875
113	Thomas Augustus Jagger	1st	Southern Ohio ... Resigned 1889	April 28, 1875
114	William Edward McLaren	3d	Illinois ... Chicago, 1883	Dec. 6, 1875
115	John Henry Hobart Brown	1st	Fond du Lac	Dec. 15, 1875
116	William Stevens Perry	2d	Iowa	Sept. 10, 1876
117	Charles Clifton Penick	3d	Cape Palmas (Miss.) ... Resigned 1883	Feb. 13, 1877

118	SAML. ISAAC JOS. SCHERESCHEWSKY	2d	Shanghai, China (Miss.)	Resigned 1883	Oct. 31, 1877
119	ALEXANDER BURGESS	1st	Quincy		May 15, 1878
120	GEORGE WILLIAM PETERKIN	1st	West Virginia		May 30, 1878
121	GEORGE FRANKLIN SEYMOUR	1st	Springfield		June 11, 1878
122	Samuel Smith Harris	2d	Michigan		Sept. 17, 1879
123	THOMAS ALFRED STARKEY	2d	Northern New Jersey	Newark, 1886	Jan. 8, 1880
124	John Nicholas Galleher	3d	Louisiana		Feb. 5, 1880
125	George Kelly Dunlop	2d	New Mexico and Arizona (Miss.)		Nov. 21, 1880
126	LEIGH RICHMOND BREWER	1st	Montana (Miss.)		Dec. 8, 1880
127	John Adams Paddock	1st	Washington (Miss.)		Dec. 15, 1880
128	CORTLANDT WHITEHEAD	2d	Pittsburg		Jan. 25, 1882
129	HUGH MILLER THOMPSON	2d	Mississippi (Asst.)	Bp. 1887	Feb. 24, 1883
130	David Buel Knickerbacker	3d	Indiana		Oct. 14, 1883
131	HENRY CODMAN POTTER	7th	New York (Asst.)	Bp. 1887	Oct. 20, 1883
132	ALFRED MAGILL RANDOLPH	1st	Virginia Asst.)	Bp. Southern Virginia, 1892	Oct. 21, 1883
133	WILLIAM DAVID WALKER	1st	North Dakota (Miss.)		Dec. 20, 1883
134	ALFRED AUGUSTIN WATSON	1st	East Carolina		April 17, 1884
135	William Jones Boone	4th	Shanghai (Miss.)		Oct. 28, 1884
136	NELSON SOMERVILLE RULISON	2d	Central Pennsylvania (Asst.)		Oct. 28, 1884
137	WILLIAM PAKET	6th	Maryland		Jan. 8, 1885
138	GEORGE WORTHINGTON	2d	Nebraska		Feb. 24, 1885
139	SAMUEL DAVID FERGUSON	4th	Cape Palmas (Miss.)		June 24, 1885
140	EDWIN GARDNER WEED	3d	Florida		Aug. 11, 1886
141	MAHLON NORRIS GILBERT	2d	Minnesota (Asst.)		Oct. 18, 1886
142	ELISHA SMITH THOMAS	2d	Kansas (Asst.)	Bp. 1889	May 4, 1887
143	ETHELBERT TALBOT	1st	Wyoming and Idaho (Miss.)		May 27, 1887
144	JAMES STEPTOE JOHNSON	2d	Western Texas (Miss.)		Jan. 6, 1888
145	ABIEL LEONARD	2d	Nevada and Utah (Miss.)		Jan. 25, 1888
146	LEIGHTON COLEMAN	2d	Delaware		Oct. 18, 1888
147	JOHN MILES KENDRICK	3d	Arizona and New Mexico		Jan. 18, 1889
148	BOYD VINCENT	2d	Southern Ohio		Jan. 25, 1889
149	Cyrus Frederic Knight	4th	Milwaukee		Mar. 26, 1889
150	CHARLES CHAPMAN GRAFTON	2d	Fond du Lac		April 25, 1889

APPENDIX E.—*Continued.*

NO.	NAME.	ORDER.	DIOCESE.	CONSECRATED.
151	WILLIAM ANDREW LEONARD	4th	Ohio	Oct. 12, 1889
152	THOMAS FREDERICK DAVIES	3d	Michigan	Oct. 18, 1889
153	ANSON ROGERS GRAVES	1st	The Platte	Jan. 1, 1890
154	WILLIAM FORD NICHOLS	2d	California (Asst.)	June 24, 1890
155	EDWIN ROBERT ATWILL	1st	West Missouri	Oct. 14, 1890
156	HENRY MELVILLE JACKSON	..	Alabama (Asst.)	Jan. 21, 1891
157	DAVIS SESSUMS	4th	Louisiana (Asst.) Bp. 1891	June 24, 1891
158	Phillips Brooks	5th	Massachusetts	Oct. 14, 1891
159	ISAAC LEA NICHOLSON	5th	Milwaukee	Oct. 28, 1891
160	CLELAND KINLOCH NELSON	3d	Georgia	Feb. 24, 1892
161	CHARLES REUBEN HALE	..	Springfield (Asst.)	July 26, 1892
162	GEORGE HERBERT KINGSOLVING	2d	Texas (Asst.) Bp. 1893	Oct. 12, 1892
163	LEMUEL HENRY WELLS	1st	Spokane (Miss.)	Dec. 16, 1892
164	WILLIAM CRANE GRAY	1st	Southern Florida (Miss.)	Dec. 27, 1892
165	FRANCIS KEY BROOKE	1st	Oklahoma (Miss.)	Jan. 6, 1893
166	WILLIAM MORRIS BARKER	1st	Western Colorado (Miss.)	Jan. 25, 1893
167	JOHN MCKIM	3d	Japan (Miss.)	June 14, 1893
168	FREDERICK ROGERS GRAVES	3d	China (Miss.)	June 14, 1893
169	ELLISON CAPERS	..	South Carolina (Asst.)	July 20, 1893
170	THOMAS FRANK GAILOR	..	Tennessee (Asst.)	July 25, 1893
171	WILLIAM LAWRENCE	6th	Massachusetts	Oct. 5, 1893
172	JOSEPH BLOUNT CHESHIRE, Jr.	5th	North Carolina (Asst.) Bp. 1893	Oct. 15, 1893
173	ARTHUR CRAWSHAY ALLISON HALL	3d	Vermont	Feb. 2, 1894
174	JOHN BROCKENBROUGH NEWTON	..	Virginia (Asst.)	May 16, 1894

APPENDIX F.

GENERAL CONVENTIONS.

PLACE OF MEETING.	DATE.	PLACE OF MEETING.	DATE.
Philadelphia	1785	New York	1832
Philadelphia	1786	Philadelphia	1835
Wilmington, Del. (adjourned Convention)	1786	Philadelphia	1838
Philadelphia	1789	New York	1841
Philadelphia (adjourned Convention)	1789	Philadelphia	1844
New York	1792	New York	1847
Philadelphia	1795	Cincinnati	1850
Philadelphia (special)	1799	New York	1853
Trenton, N. J.	1801	Philadelphia	1856
New York	1804	Richmond, Va.	1859
Baltimore	1808	New York	1862
New Haven, Conn.	1811	Philadelphia	1865
Philadelphia	1814	New York	1868
New York	1817	Baltimore	1871
Philadelphia	1820	New York	1874
Philadelphia (special)	1821	Boston	1877
Philadelphia	1823	New York	1880
Philadelphia	1826	Philadelphia	1883
Philadelphia	1829	Chicago	1886
		New York	1889
		Baltimore	1892
		Minneapolis	1895

PRESIDING BISHOPS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

1.	William White, Pennsylvania	1789
2.	Samuel Seabury, Connecticut	1789–1792
3.	Samuel Provoost, New York	1792–1795
4.	William White, Pennsylvania	1795–1836
5.	Alexander Viets Griswold, the Eastern Diocese	1836–1843
6.	Philander Chase, Ohio	1843–1852
7.	Thomas Church Brownell, Connecticut	1852–1865
8.	John Henry Hopkins, Vermont	1865–1868
9.	Benjamin Bosworth Smith, Kentucky	1868–1884
10.	Alfred Lee, Delaware	1884–1887
11.	John Williams, Connecticut	1887–1895

SECRETARIES OF THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS.

1789. Rev. Joseph Clarkson.
1792. Rev. Samuel Keene.
1795. Rev. Joseph Turner.
1799. Rev. John Henry Hobart.
1801. Rev. Henry Waddell.
1804. Rev. Cave Jones.
1808. Rev. James Whitehead.
1811. Rev. Philo Shelton.
1814. Rev. Jackson Kemper.
1817. Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk
1820–21. Rev. William Augustus lenberg.
1823–26. Rev. William H. De Lan
1829–38. Rev. Bird Wilson.
1841–53. Rev. Jonathan M. Wainw
1853–65. Rev. Lewis P. Balch.
1868–83. Rev. Henry C. Potter.
1883–92. Rev. William Tatlock.
1892– Rev. Samuel Hart.

APPENDIX G.

PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF THE HOUSE OF DEPUTIES.

PRESIDENTS.	SECRETARIES.
1784. Rev. William Smith, D.D.	
1785. Rev. William White, D.D.	Rev. David Griffith.
1786. Rev. David Griffith.	Hon. Francis Hopkins
1786, October 10. Rev. Daniel Provoost.	"
1789. Bishop White.	"
1792. Rev. William Smith, D.D.	Rev. John Bisset.
1795–99. "	Rev. James Abercromb
1801. Rev. Abraham Beach.	Rev. Ashbel Baldwin.
1804–08. "	Rev. John Henry Hol
1811. Rev. Isaac Wilkins.	Rev. Ashbel Baldwin.
1814. Rev. John Croes.	"
[illegible]	"

APPENDIX II.

COLLEGES AND THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

NO.	NAME.	PLACE.	PRESIDENT OR HEAD.
1.	Columbia	New York, N. Y.	Hon. Seth Low.
2.	Trinity	Hartford, Conn.	Rev. Dr. G. Williamson Smith
3.	Hobart	Geneva, N. Y.	Rev. Dr. F. N. Potter.
4.	Racine	Racine, Wis.	Rev. Dr. Arthur Piper.
5.	Griswold	Davenport, Ia.	Bishop Perry.
6.	Kenyon	Gambier, O.	Dr. T. S. Sterling.
7.	St. Stephen's	Annandale, N. Y.	Rev. Dr. Fairbairn.
8.	University of the South	Sewanee, Tenn.	Bishop Dudley, Chancellor; Pr. L. Wiggins, Vice-Chan.
9.	Lehigh University	South Bethlehem, Pa.	
1.	General Theol. Seminary	New York, N. Y.	Rev. Dr. Hoffman.
2.	Episcopal Theol. School	Cambridge, Mass.	Rev. Dr. Hodges.
3.	Divinity School	West Philadelphia, Pa.	Rev. Dr. Bartlett.
4.	Theol. Seminary of Virginia.	Theol. Seminary Va.	Rev. Dr. Packard.
5.	Berkeley Div. School	Middletown, Conn.	Bishop Williams.
6.	Theol. Dept. U. of South	Sewanee, Tenn.	Rev. Dr. Du Bose.
7.	Nashotah House	Nashotah, Wis.	Rev. Dr. Gardner.
8.	Bexley Hall	Gambier, O.	Rev. H. D. Jones.
9.	Western Theol. Seminary	Chicago, Ill.	Bishop McLaren.
10.	Lee Hall	Davenport, Ia.	Bishop Perry.
11.	St. Andrew's Div. School	Syracuse, N. Y.	Bishop Huntington.
12.	Seabury Div. School	Faribault, Minn.	Rev. Dr. Wells.
13.	De Lancey Div. School	Geneva, N. Y.	Rev. Dr. Rankine.
14.	Denver Theol. School	Denver, Colo.	Bishop Spalding.
15.	Pacific Div. School	San Mateo	Bishop Nichols.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF STATISTICS.

Dioceses in the United States	53
Missionary districts in the United States	18
Missionary jurisdictions in foreign lands	7
Clergy (bishops, 81; priests and deacons, 4,493)	4,574
Parishes and missions	6,037
Candidates for holy orders	558
Ordinations, deacons	221
Ordinations, priests	156
Baptisms	61,815
Confirmations	43,711
Communicants	500,031
Marriages	36,178
Burials	30,857
Sunday-school teachers	45,461
Sunday-school scholars	417,502
Grand total of contributions	$12,281,126.50

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